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PLANNING FOR PUBLIC SPACES IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS: A CASE STUDY OF MOUNTAIN SIGHTS, MONTREAL

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Résumé

La multiethnicité croissante des principales villes canadiennes, dans le sillage de la diversification des vagues d'immigration internationale depuis les années 1980, pose certains dilemmes de planification urbaine et de gestion municipale concernant le traitement équitable des différences culturelles et l'inclusion des groupes minoritaires dans le processus de planification. Les théoriciens et les praticiens sont divisés quant à la question de savoir jusqu'où aller dans l'accommodement des différences culturelles et dans la priorité à donner à l'intérêt public dans les décisions de planification en contexte multiethnique. Dans ce genre de contexte, l'espace et le domaine public représentent un des principaux terrains sur lesquels se joue ce débat, puisque c'est bien là que se rencontrent les réalités ethnoculturelles diverses sur une base quotidienne.

Le propos de cette thèse est d'examiner ce dilemme au moyen d'une étude de cas qualitative portant sur différentes approches et perceptions de la planification de l'espace public dans le quartier multiethnique de Mountain Sights à Montréal. Des entrevues (52) semi-structurées de résidents locaux (dont plusieurs avec des membres d'associations locales d'habitants), de travailleurs communautaires, de fonctionnaires municipaux et d'agents du secteur parapublic ont été menées pour examiner comment les differents acteurs perçoivent et gèrent les problèmes de planification en contexte multiethnique.

Les résultats de la recherche montrent que les espaces publics dans ce quartier multiethnique qui accueille beaucoup de nouveaux immigrants ont certains traits et problèmes qui, bien qu'ils ne soient pas propres à ce type de contexte, y sont plus aigus du fait de la densité de population, de la trajectoire des immigrants et de leurs manières de faire ethnoculturelles. Toutefois, les valeurs et besoins collectifs transculturels d'une telle zone multiethnique sont apparus comme plus importants que ceux proprement ethnoculturels dans le processus de planification. De plus, les acteurs impliqués dans les opérations de planification à tous les niveaux se débattent avec les mêmes problèmes (inclusion, équité, arbitrage entre differents points de vue, processus democratique). Cependant, les approches collaboratives utilisées à l'échelle locale sont considerées comme plus inclusives et appropriées au travail de planification en contexte

multiethnique, les approches plus formelles municipales ou institutionnelles étant considérées comme peu utiles pour orienter de façon pratique la prise de décision et l'action de planifier dans un milieu de diversité sociale. Pour cette raison, les dilemmes de la planification et de la gestion de l'espace public en contexte multiethnique apparaissent comme la seule pointe de l'iceberg qu'est le problème d'inclusion des voix minoritaires et du traitement équitable de la diversité sociale dans le processus de planification municipal en général.

Mots-clés : aménagement, planification urbaine, diversité culturelle, espace public, multiculturalisme, villes canadiennes, immigrants, groupes minoritaires, développement communautaire, processus collaboratif, gestion municipale.

Abstract

The increasing multiethnicity of major Canadian cities in the wake of diversification in international immigration patterns since the 1980's poses certain dilemmas for urban planning and municipal management regarding the equitable treatment and inclusion of minority groups and culturally-based differences in the planning process. Theoreticians and practitioners are divided on the extent to which ethnocultural differences should be accommodated and the degree to which the public interest should prevail over planning decisions in multiethnic contexts. In multiethnic neighbourhoods and cities, public space and the public domain form one of the main sites where this debate is played out, since this is where ethnoculturally diverse realities intersect on a daily basis.

The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to examine this dilemma via a qualitative case study on different approaches and perceptions to public space planning and management in the multiethnic neighbourhood of Mountain Sights in Montreal. Fifty two semi-structured interviews were carried out with local residents (many whom are members of local residents' associations), community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional actors in order to assess how different actors perceive and deal with planning problems in a multiethnic context.

Research findings show that public spaces in this multiethnic immigrant reception and settlement neighbourhood have certain characteristics and problems that, while not necessarily particular to multiethnic or immigrant areas, are intensified due to population density, the immigrant settlement trajectory, and ethnoculturally-based ways of doing. However, the transcultural or collectively-shared needs and values of a multiethnic area emerged as being more important than ethno-specific ones in the planning process. In addition, actors involved in planning efforts at all levels struggle with the same problems (inclusion, equity, arbitration between different points of view, democratic process). However, the collaborative approaches used at the grassroots level are considered to be more inclusive and appropriate to planning work in multiethnic contexts, since the formal municipal or institutional approaches are reported to provide little practical guidance for decision-making and planning action in contexts of social diversity. For this reason, the dilemma of public space planning and management in multiethnic contexts emerges as being

only the tip of the iceberg, since problems related to equitable treatment and the inclusion of minority voices in contexts of social diversity represent a major turning point for the municipal planning process in general.

Keywords: urban planning, cultural diversity, public space, multiculturalism, Canadian cities, immigrants, minority groups, community development, collaborative process, municipal management.

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CHAPTER 1: THE CHALLENGE OF PLANNING FOR MULTIETHNIC CITIES

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The challenge of planning and managing public space and the lived environment in multiethnic cities should not be underestimated. Increasing immigrant and temporary worker flows since the 1980's under the influence of globalization have had a definite impact on urban realities, particularly on planning policy and practice from the national to the neighbourhood level (Amin and Thrift, 2002). From the institution of multiculturalism and race relations policies to inter-group antagonism, rapid demographic change strongly affects municipal governance in many countries worldwide (Douglass and Roberts, 2000; Lim, 2001; Allen, 2000).

Few realms of municipal decision-making remain unaffected, as the following example shows. In the multiethnic borough of Côte des Neiges in Montreal, conflict over the increasing use of public parks for ethnocultural festivals and events recently came to a head (*The Gazette*, June 8 and July 26, 2004). Complaints from residents over noise, traffic problems, and litter produced by an "excess" of summer events held by the Filipino, Sri Lankan, and Jamaican communities prompted the borough council to adopt guidelines restricting the number of summer events to one per community per season, in addition to one per month per park. As well, the organizing committee for each event must pay a $1 per person deposit, refunded only if the park is fully cleaned up after the event. Reactions were mixed. The Quebec branch of the Canadian Tamil Congress was subsidized by the City of Montreal to move their "Olympic Games" (an event drawing over 3,500 participants) three years ago to a large indoor sports centre, and was pleased to be able to continue to avoid charging admission. On the other hand, the Jamaican Association of Montreal was frustrated, not because their Jamaica Day celebrations were being moved to a nearby Hippodrome, but because this meant that they had to charge admission. The biggest controversy lies with several local Filipino associations, who wish to sue the City of Montreal for refusing them a permit to hold celebrations for *Pista sa Nayon* (Independence Day) in local parks. In fact, the Congress of Filipino Canadian Associations was flatly refused a permit to hold their event (which drew 3,000 in 2003) at all, although a rival organization was given a permit for the month of July - one month after the passing of *Pista sa Nayon.*

The controversy leading up to, and following, this public space management decision is all the more telling given Di Genova's (2001) study of park use in Montreal neighbourhoods, which found that parks are used differently in multiethnic neighbourhoods than in more culturally homogeneous (French Canadian) ones. In the former, sociability and festival aspects were more important to park users, while in the latter, peaceful independent activities were emphasized. This one small example, in which none of the participants actually really won, already gives us an idea of the challenge that different cultural values and expectations can pose for urban residents, planners, and municipal decision-makers in multiethnic contexts. This dilemma is at the root of this doctoral dissertation. However, before discussing the details of our doctoral research project, we will first look at the impact that increasing multiethnicity has on Canadian cities, and the challenge that it poses for planning policy and practice.

1.2 THE IMPACT OF INCREASING MULTIETHNICITY IN URBAN CONTEXTS

1.2.1 The Demographics of Multiethnicization

The socio-cultural face of Canadian cities has undergone rapid transformation over the past thirty years as a result of changing immigrant flows. Prior to the 1970's, over 95% of immigrants came from Europe and the United States (according to the Canadian Immigration Act of 1993, immigrants are persons born outside of Canada, regardless of citizenship) (Ley and Bourne, 1993). Since immigration regulations were opened up in the 1980's, Canada has seen an influx of immigrants from vastly different countries (Simmons, 1999). For example, of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001, 58% were from Asia and the Middle East, 20% from Europe, 11% from the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, 8% from Africa, and 3% from the United States (Statistics Canada, 2003).

Most of these immigrants settle in Canada's largest cities: Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. According to the 2001 Canada Census, the Toronto area has the highest proportion of foreign-born residents in the country, accounting for 44% of the area's population. Vancouver follows next with 40% (31% of all immigrants in Vancouver are of Asian origin). The profile of immigration in the province of Quebec is somewhat different than that in other provinces due to Quebec's pro-French immigration policy (Gagné and Chamberland, 1999). According to the

2001 Canada Census, the main countries of immigration to Quebec are France, China, Morocco, Algeria, Haiti, and Romania. Most immigrants settle in the Montreal area (Ville de Montréal, 2003). In fact, of the 1,749,510 people living on the Island of Montreal in 2001, 26.5% were immigrants, of which 49.4% arrived after 1981 and 25.2% after 1991 (Ville de Montréal, 2003). In all three major Canadian cities, therefore, multiethnicity is a fact of life.

This trend is also replayed in many cities worldwide, albeit under slightly different circumstances. While Canada, the United States, and Australia solicit immigrants in order to shore up declining birth rates and increase investment in the economic sector, the emphasis in many other countries is on temporary labourers needed to fill gaps in the labour and service industries (Denoon *et al*, 1996; Nirwan, 1997; Wu, McQueen, and Yamamoto, 1997; Douglass, 1999; Douglass and Roberts, 2000; Papademetriou, 2002). The exceptions here are countries with an immigration policy based on the "law of return", such as Israel (Yiftachel, 2000), and ex-colonial countries obliged to accept immigrants from their former colonies (Papademetriou, 2002). These transnational flows of people due to the globalization of world economies have led to a complexification in the cultural composition of many world cities (Hannerz, 1996). This has not always been easily translated into social and political realities, despite the rise of multiculturalism and race relations policies.

1.2.2 The Institution of Multiculturalism Policies

Despite their increasing multiethnicity, few cities have adopted policies to mediate between culturally diverse groups and proscribe the rights accorded to them (Sandercock, 2003a: 101). National multiculturalism policies have been in place in Canada and Australia since the 1970's and 80's, as well as in the Netherlands, Denmark, Singapore, and Malaysia, although each country has a slightly different definition of multiculturalism (Sandercock, 2003a: 101). On the other hand, race relations policies prevail in Britain (Race Relations Act of 1976), the United States, and South Africa. These policies are intended to promote racial harmony and outlaw racial discrimination. In other countries, politicians tend to be opposed to any form of official recognition of cultural difference, especially in social climates where immigration is needed economically but not necessarily welcomed (Sassen, 2000; Papademetriou, 2002).

Since 1971, multiculturalism policies in Canada have framed national and provincial discourse on the construction of Canadian society (Mahtani, 2002: 68). Initially conceived as a way of accommodating (and containing) French Canadian nationalism (Fleras and Elliott, 1992), in the 1980's the federal multiculturalism policy evolved to include immigrants, ethnocultural minorities (non-Caucasian and non-Anglo), and 'visible minorities' (defined under the Canadian Employment Equity Act as being: "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour"). Many provinces have adopted their own multiculturalism-type policies in turn. Most of these are very similar to the federal policy, even in the province of Quebec, which has always refused the concept of multiculturalism as negating Quebec's special status within Canada (Juteau *et al*, 1998).

Multiculturalism policies have received their share of criticism over the past three decades. The most scathing comes from Bhikhu Parekh (2000) and Ash Amin (2002), who argue that the sense of belonging in a multicultural society cannot be based on race, religion, or ethnicity, since a multicultural society is too diverse for that. Instead, it should be based on a shared commitment to a political community (Parekh, 2000: 341; Amin, 2002: 23). In Canada, criticism also comes on three fronts. Native Canadians argue that their claims for restitution of land and self-government far outstrip cultural recognition (Sandercock, 2003a: 142). Members of different ethnocultural communities have also argued that multiculturalism policies foster division and inter-group competition by focusing solely on ethnicity or race as a means of identification, whereas ethnicity is only one means of identification (Bissoondath, 2002). As well, some feel that multiculturalism policies mask institutionalized racism and discriminatory attitudes within Canadian society (Hill, 2001; Henry *et al*, 2000; Bannerji, 1995, 2000a). A recent survey conducted by the Association for Canadian Studies (2004) also found that half of respondents from across Canada believe that multiculturalism policies either hinder immigrant integration or else have no effect whatsoever. In other words, the mere existence of multiculturalism policies does not necessarily mean that the challenges of diversity are being met, although they do provide public reassurance that difference is being 'managed'.

1.2.3 Fear and Coexistence in Public Space

The arrival of new immigrants is not always met with open arms. Some authors argue that an institutionalized colonial mentality still exists in many Western countries (Said, 2002), creating what Sandercock (2003a: 23) calls *already racialized* liberal democracies where institutionalized racism and individual prejudice complicate the social integration of immigrants (Hesse, 2000). *Already racialized* societies tend to be uncomfortable with the presence of minorities in their neighbourhoods and public spaces, and immigrants are often viewed as being inferior (Bannerji, 2000b; Sandercock, 2003a: 23). Many of these countries have been constructed on the myth of a founding identity, from that of the White Nation (Hage, 1998) to Jewish national identity in Israel (Yiftachel, 2000) and the myth of a founding lineage in China (Edwards, 2004). Increasing cultural diversity within a short time-frame can have an unsettling effect on this type of national identity (Wieviorka, 1995). As Judith Stiehm (1995) points out, heterogeneity is often perceived as dangerous because it threatens disruption and challenges the prevailing forms of power. This encourages conflict and affects relations between more established groups and newer arrivals (Soja, 1996; Rocco, 1996).

The immigrant, as a Stranger and Outsider, threatens to disrupt the imagined social order. According to Ulrich Beck (1998: 130), the desire for the logic of order and identity is reasserted in face of this threat. The host society remains fascinated by the stranger, even as immigrants are pushed to the periphery of urban life, which makes the stranger even more unsettling. Kristeva (1991), for her part, argues that we are all 'strangers to ourselves', which compromises our sense of identity and security. The foreigner is a symptom of this unease but is not the cause.

> "Psychologically he signifies the difficulty we have of living as an other and with others; politically he underscores the limits of nation-states and of the national political conscience that characterizes them and that we have all deeply interiorized to the point of considering it normal that there are foreigners, that is, people who do not have the same rights as we do." (Kristeva, 1991: 103)

The fear that the Stranger might threaten the national way of life is not uncommon. For example, in some European countries, the patriarchal and fundamentalist beliefs of some Muslim immigrants are often believed to threaten liberal social ideals (Hargreaves and McKinney, 1997). As well, immigrants in working class areas are sometimes believed to be taking jobs away from

local people (Allen, 2000). One notable feature of this fear is the way in which immigration and criminality become merged (Gallego-Dias, 2002; Body-Gendrot, 2000; Merry, 1981). In the 1990's, these fears have been mobilized by conservative politicians in some European countries, who have begun introducing laws to curtail multiculturalism policies and close the doors to international immigration (Van Kempen and Andersen, 2000; Hargreaves and McKinney, 1997). However, while immigration is often synonymous with poverty and social exclusion in Europe (Allen and Cars, 2001; Khakee, Somma, and Thomas, 1999; Khakee and Thomas, 1995), this overlap does not exist in Canada to the same extent since immigrants are usually selected for their professional skills (Germain and Gagnon, 2003: 298).

The extent to which individuals belonging to the more established groups perceive new immigrants as being outsiders is an open-ended question. In North American planning theory, the desire of established groups to exert control over space dates back to Park *et al*'s (1926) concentric zone model, where new arrivals are only able to 'occupy' a residential area once older groups have moved on. Here, their inclusion in public life occurs once the newer group is no longer perceived as existing outside the mores of the society at large. Inclusion and exclusion are therefore fundamentally related to the question of who belongs and who does not, as Elias and Scotson (1965) found in their classic study of relations between established and 'outsider' groups in the small community of Winston Parva near Leicester. The problem reduces to the way perceptions are mediated between established and newer groups, as this can lead to controversy, if not conflict, in public space (Amin, 2002).

The history of municipal response to the Stranger is often an attempt to manage fear - fear of disorder, disease, and marginal social groups (Wilson, 1991). Many different 'solutions' have been proposed over the years, from spatial containment (the *judenstrasse* of old Europe, American segregationalism, the 'foreigner' quarters of pre-Communist Chinese cities, or even the designation of 'red-light' districts – Wilson, 1991) to moral reform (the idea that provision of suitably-designed parks and playgrounds, neighbourhoods, and schools will produce 'civilized' urban citizens). More latterly, we have policies of assimilationism, where national language requirements and 'host culture' classes are thought to help make "the Other into one of us" (Sandercock, 2003a: 109).

One of the more positive proposals for dealing with fear and creating harmonious urban spaces in multiethnic neighbourhoods comes from Amin (2002), who uses the 2001 British race riots as a springboard to a discussion on what it takes to live with the "daily negotiation of ethnic difference". In Europe, Amin (2002) and Allen (2000) identify two types of neighbourhoods where inter-ethnic group conflict is likely to be a problem – working class areas suffering from high levels of socio-economic deprivation that begin to receive new immigrants, and "white flight" suburbs where immigrants become targets for white supremist groups. Traditionally, multiethnic neighbourhoods do not suffer this type of inter-group conflict in public space, since coexistence and avoidance strategies prevent friction between people living very different lifestyles (Albrow, 1997: 51). Amin therefore argues against "popular fixes" such as the forcible creation of mixed housing developments, neighbourhoods, and schools, or urban design based on the idea of 'visibility', where increased opportunities for encounter in public spaces are supposed to stimulate interest and exchanges between very different groups. He believes that these fixes cannot work because spaces either become the preserve of particular groups (from youth 'gangs' to South Asian families) or else remain spaces of transit where very little contact between groups occurs (Amin, 2002: 11). Instead, along the lines of the newer British neighbourhood revitalization programs (the *Neighbourhood Management Program*, UK Government Office for London, 2002), Amin proposes the idea of 'micro-publics' such as the workplace, schools, youth centres, sports clubs, community centres, community gardens, child-care facilities, residents' groups, and neighbourhood revitalization efforts. Micro-publics are "spaces of cultural transgression" (Amin, 2002: 12) where people from different cultural backgrounds are thrown together in new settings which disrupt familiar patterns and create the possibility of new attachments as feelings of strangeness are overcome. Conflict resolution on flash points such as waste disposal and domestic habits is then easier to achieve through carefully managed residents' meetings that can steer discussion without stifling views (Allen, 2000; Norman, 1998).

In other words, local accommodation to difference occurs within an agonistic politics based on the constant re-creation and re-negotiation of a common culture (Amin, 2002: 96). Very briefly, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, *agonism* ("to work with, to help improve, to increase the potency or power of") is the opposite of *antagonism* ("contrary to, in opposition to, hostile to, that which suppresses the function of"). In politics, *agonism* has the same sense. As Chantal Mouffe (2000: 104) explains, an agonistic political culture is a culture that "values

participatory and open-ended engagement based on the vibrant clash of democratic political positions between empowered citizens respectful of each other's claims." Amin (2002: 973) provides greater detail:

> "This is a politics of emergent solutions and directions based on the process of democratic engagement. Open and critical debate, mutual awareness, and a continually altering subjectivity through engagement are the watchwords of agonistic politics, replacing the watchwords of trust, consensus, and cohesion that dominate the communitarian position. Agonism may well leave conflicts and disagreements unresolved, which is the nature of bringing distant and inimical subjects together, but its strength lies in making transparent reasons for resentment and misunderstanding as well as the pathos of the aggrieved, so that future encounters (essential in an agonistic public culture) can build on a better foundation."

Allen and Cars (2001) also stress the importance of micro-political processes in their study of neighbourhood revitalization programs in ten 'socially-excluded' multiethnic neighbourhoods in Europe. As well, Parekh (2000) believes that governance structures in multiethnic areas should be designed from the bottom up by specific groups involved in the area and not imposed from the top down, since top-down solutions derive from the monocultural assumptions of the host culture and can intensify cross-cultural tensions (Parekh, 2000: 212). This is similar in some ways to James Donald's (1999) emphasis on developing commonalities instead of trying to erase all traces of difference, requiring: "broad social participation in the never completed process of making meanings and creating values in [...] an always emerging, negotiated common culture" (Donald, 1999: 151).

Viewed in this way, coexistence and reduction of inter-ethnic group conflict in a multiethnic society will not arise from instant policy or program fixes, but will evolve as citizens become active in some form of agonistic politics. This perspective is important in the context of this dissertation, since the question of whether or not this type of agonistic process operates, or is operational, in real-life multiethnic neighbourhoods remains unanswered.

1.2.4 A Word on Analytical Categories

We have mentioned terms such as culture, multicultural, ethnicity, and race many times without defining them or explaining their role as analytical categories in this dissertation. These are all rather contested concepts, since they often refer to more than just a description of state, but to a slew of political actions and social conceptualizations that, in some cases, can have discriminatory or controversial outcomes.

a) Multi-culture

First of all, we have notions of a multicultural society, of cultural diversity, of culture *per se*. Parekh (2000: 13) defines a multicultural society thus: "By definition a multicultural society consists of several cultures or cultural communities with their own distinct systems of meaning and significance and views on man and the world." This tends to be the meaning of a multicultural society as conceived under various multiculturalism policies.

Before looking at the "multi" aspect, we need to define "culture". In the social sciences, culture is a general term for the symbolic and learned aspects of human society, and refers to a relatively coherent system of meanings, more or less integrated with social relations, practices, and material objects, that is socially rather than biologically transmitted (Geertz, 1973). Parekh (2000: 143) adds the temporal element to the definition of culture: "A historically created system of meaning and significance, or [...] a system of beliefs and practices in terms of which a group of human beings understand, regulate, and structure their individual and collective lives."

Under multiculturalism, a form of 'culture' is essential to community identity (Parekh, 2000). It has been argued that multiculturalism's conception of 'culture' is too narrow, as it assumes that communities have common political interests, common expectations, and common ways of thinking (Baum, 2000: 117). As will become increasingly evident throughout this dissertation, this 'compartmentalization of culture' actually works against a truly inclusive planning process, since, as Baum (2000: 117) points out, in reality, many people belong to several communities and may be untroubled with the contradiction inherent in being associated with sometimes very different communities.

The 'multi' aspect of multi-cultural therefore has two different definitions. The first definition, to which modern multiculturalism policies ascribe, holds that while all groups are bounded and distinct, some cultural groups are more powerful in decision-making procedures than others, and so minority cultural groups may require specific policies and programs in order to rectify this imbalance (Fleras and Elliott, 1992). The second definition, which we lean towards in this dissertation, refers to the complexity of societies where different groups have diverse perspectives, interests, identities, and life habits. These elements can evolve, overlap, and mutate, making cultural identity more fluid (Parekh, 2000: 341; Amin, 2002: 23).

In some respects, this is close to the notion of hybridity, the constant social transformation and hybridization between ethnocultural groups that authors such as AlSayyad (2001, 2004) and Hannerz (1996) believe accompanies the immigrant settlement process. This leads to the formation of meta-cultural points of contact between different groups where political commitments can be made through constantly re-negotiated meanings (Hannerz, 1992; Bhabha, 1994: 249). Like Amin's "spaces of cultural transgression", public space in a multiethnic city then becomes a modality through which the culture of one group is translated to the other. As we will argue in this dissertation, this means that municipal policy needs to move beyond the idea of accommodating difference towards the notion that there are larger collective cultures or value sets that are constantly being formed in multiethnic contexts, which can be inherently stable and 'workable' despite their fluidity if opportunities exist that allow the municipal decision-making framework to retain its overall integrity.

b) Ethnicity / ethnocultural

The terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnocultural' have a more chequered past, although one that is similar in etiology to 'culture'. Very broadly, 'ethnicity' defines individuals who consider themselves, or who are considered by others, to share common characteristics which differentiate them from other groups and within which members develop distinctive cultural behaviour (Marshall, 1998). Ethnicity is a form of identity that is distinct from race, social class, religion, language, or other categories of identity, since members of one ethnic group may share similar racial or religious backgrounds without sharing in the gamut of identifiers (Marshall, 1998: 201). Ethnicity then describes a group of people possessing a degree of solidarity who are aware of having common origins, interests, and shared experiences (Cashmore, 1996: 119).

The politicization of the original Greek "*ethnikos*" (meaning people or nation) began in the 1960's, with the rise of several different schools of thought on the function and formation of ethnic groups and ethnicity. The 'father' of ethnicity is undeniably Frederik Barth (1969), who argued that ethnic groups are socially constructed, and that the physical and ideological constructs of ethnic groups, such as dress, food, language, rituals, morality, and value orientations, although permanent ('primordial ethnicity'), exist only as a function of the boundaries maintained between different groups ('situational ethnicity'). Barth later developed a third concept, 'instrumental ethnicity", based on several observations made during his fieldwork among the Pathan and Baluchi groups of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The first observation is that individual Pathans seemed to 'exchange' their Pathan identity for Baluchi identity through marriage or changing economic circumstances, and the second is that certain Pathan groups seemed to accentuate their "Pathan-ness" as a means of improving their foothold within Baluchi society.

Recent work in sociology and anthropology has been attempting to transcend the 'bounded ethnic group' argument put forward by anthropologists such as Barth (1969), Gluckman (1958), and Cohen (1969), as many scholars now feel that these conceptions are too limiting. For example, Eriksen (1998, 2002) argues that people's values are established through negotiations within the family and among close friends. Once these shared meanings have been established, they take on the form of "the unitary language-games of institutional politics" (Eriksen, 1998: 139), a conceptualization that allows 'ethnocultural identity' to move away from the ethnic group towards the way that identity and cultural meaning are formed through inter-personal interactions. This has been picked up by Brackette Williams (1996: 421), who notes that in the "race to nationhood", ethnicity has become the lightning rod that attracts all those with a vested interest in promoting or defining the interests of one group over the interests of another. In her 'resource competition model', it is politically dominant groups that set the political agenda and determine widely-held social standards. 'Ethnic' is a label given to subordinate groups who fail to live up to these standards, and who are then denied a place in nationalist rhetoric by the ruling élite, who refuse themselves to acknowledge their own ethnicity.

These notions of ethnocultural identity as a form of identity that is constantly evolving, socially transmitted, and consciously assumed have been adopted by authors such as G. C. Bentley (1996) and Leonie Sandercock (2003a). Both situate the locus of ethnicity in what Pierre

Bourdieu (1977) calls *habitus*, the complex of unconscious habitual actions and behaviours towards the world. It is through shared experience of the world that members of a group identify with a common identity. This can change during an individual's lifetime and from generation to generation as the 'objective conditions of life' (material and economic conditions) change and as people strive to accommodate their understanding of the world and their position in it under changed circumstances.

Over the course of this doctoral dissertation, these various concepts of ethnicity will all have a role to play. As will become apparent, while ethnic identity has very strong political overtones that derive from models of inter-group competition over shared resources, it is also subject to alteration. In the case of immigrants, an individual's sense of self changes over the course of immigration, for it is extremely difficult, even in the case of reclusive groups, to maintain a consistent level of cultural beliefs and practices outside the country of origin (DeVos and Romanucci-Ross, 1995). Therefore, the identity of both the ethnic group and the individual will change upon immigration (even from the moment that the decision to immigrate is made), and this must be taken into account when studying ethnocultural identity outside the country of origin. Therefore, interactionist and politically-based or contextually evolving conceptions of ethnocultural identity are the ones that will form the analytical categories within which the notions of ethnicity and culturally-based perceptions will be discussed in this dissertation.

c) Race

Ethnicity is often linked with race in the literature (Cashmore, 1998: 120), which poses a whole series of problems. Is race an element of ethnicity or is it conceptually different? Are race and ethnicity just aspects of a larger phenomenon? The history of the Western world, with its legacy of large-scale immigration (voluntary/economic and involuntary/slavery) and the politicization of "race relations' in the United States and Europe, is perhaps the main reason why researchers sometimes tend to link the two concepts together, creating new analytical categories such as 'ethno-racial' identity, which is used by scholars from Krishnarayan and Thomas (1993) to Frisken and Wallace (2000). Likewise, Karen Blu (1980) notes that the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' are often used as if they have separate but overlapping meanings – 'race' denoting the biological ancestry of an individual or group, and 'ethnicity' denoting cultural history or

characteristics. The overlap comes from the 'groupness', since 'ethnics' can share both a culture and a race (Blu, 1980).

According to Baum (2000), the five conventional 'racial' categories used most commonly in North America (White or Caucasian, Black or African American, Asian, Hispanic or Latino, and Native American) lump together people of different races and/or cultures, often creating groups with little or no common past and sometimes with long-standing animosities. For these reasons, Glazer and Moynihan (1975: 25) argue that if ethnicity is to be a distinct analytical category, then it has to extend beyond "the more limited categories of race, nationality, and minority group." For example, there are many more ethnic groups within the Black "race" than can be done justice by using a single 'racial' category. For other authors, ethnicity is a subjective feeling of unity that a racial group may feel in certain contexts (Troyna, 1998; Cashmore and Troyna, 1983). This can range from the desire for inclusion within a larger racial or ethnic group (Banton, 1998, 2002) to a reaction against socio-economic and political inequality (Guibernau and Rex, 1997; Rex, 1986).

In Canada, the notion of race has been subsumed to the label 'visible minority'. This term was developed with very good intentions within the framework of federal Access to Equality programs that wished to increase the participation of racial minority groups in the labour market, particularly at the public service level. Prior to 1996, the Canada Census did not account for 'racial' differences. Thus, in order to be able to set the program targets to be reached, the definition of visible minorities as being "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (enacted in the Canadian Employment Equity Act) was created so that people could indicate their racial status (if desired) on the 1996 Canada Census and so be counted. Notwithstanding these good intentions, the problem with these types of definitions lies in the idea that 'visibility' is related to non-whiteness, since the category of 'white' then serves as the base to which all other 'races' are compared (Bannerji, 2000a). These types of conceptions perpetuate inequality unconsciously because the basis for comparison is biased. Therefore, Bannerji (2000a) argues that they should be replaced by conceptions that espouse more egalitarian relations between different but equal groups.

The distinction between race and ethnicity is not made as often by European scholars (Hargreaves, 1995; Wieviorka, 1995). Most work carried out in Europe tends to view race or ethnicity as part and parcel of the same phenomenon (usually inter-group conflict). For example,

Michael Banton (2002) advocates the idea of 'racial competition' when considering relations between ethnic or racial minorities. According to this argument, racial discrimination occurs as the result of increasing uncertainty among white Europeans concerning normative values, the 'failure' of immigrants to abide by these norms, and the easy but false correlation of skin colour with non-conformity (Banton, 2002).

d) Ethnicity versus race as an analytical category

Race is a tricky issue to consider when looking at ethnocultural diversity for these reasons. This dissertation will emphasize ethnoculturality over race as an analytical category, although race is certainly used by many planning researchers as an analytical category (Thomas, 2000). Planning research in the United States and Europe (for example, Thomas, 1997; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997; Bobo, 2000) emphasizes race and racial discrimination in planning, governance, and housing much more than Canadian research does. The issue is not as well explained in Canadian studies, which often find that racial discrimination is not so easy to prove even when it may exist (Ledoyen, 2004; Hill, 2001; McAndrew and Poitvin, 1996).

Adding 'race' as an analytical category in this dissertation would raise more questions than answers. It would involve grouping respondents into racial categories and focusing more on issues of racism, which is a vast field of study in its own right. Since the case study on which this dissertation is based does include people of different 'races' within its respondent sample, the reader may be justified in wondering how racism will play into our findings. However, the focus here is on culturally-based differences, similarities, perceptions, and interactions, and not on racism or other forms of discrimination based on the visible characteristics of 'race'. This does not mean that pejorative attitudes and other forms of 'silent' discrimination (Wieviorka, 1995) will not be touched on, nor that racism will not be alluded to. It simply means that race and racism as analytical categories will only be discussed when and where they are brought up by study respondents on their own accord, or where they are considered to form an essential part of relevant planning research.

1.3 THE CHALLENGE POSED TO PLANNING BY INCREASING MULTIETHNICITY

As the profession and practice of city-building, planning has undeniably been affected by the increasing multiethnicity of many modern societies. As Frisken and Wallace (2000: 250) note:

> "Whether it involves changing house numbers to be sensitive to Asian cultural practices, addressing neighbourhood disputes over in-fill housing in older areas (sometimes called monster homes), or adjusting parking requirements for places of worship with a regional catchment area and a capacity not defined by pew seats (to name a few examples), multiculturalism is colliding with established assumptions in the everyday practice of planning."

These challenges occur at several different levels. The first challenge occurs at the level of disadvantage and discrimination, since, as Parekh (2000) notes, equality of difference does not necessarily guarantee equal treatment. The second involves competing claims over public space, and the third involves the notions of public interest and equity. Both the latter challenges are linked, since as Qadeer (1997) suggests, planning's response to culturally different demands tends to be arbitrary because the problem of equitable treatment between different ethnic and interest groups is difficult to solve given the current state of planning systems. And lastly, the fourth challenge involves professional mentalities and the importance that planners assign to 'difference' in their daily practice.

1.3.1 The Profession and Practice of Planning: Formal to Informal

Before we go any further, we need to define what we mean by 'planning'. From the end of the 1800's, urban planning has been concerned mainly with regulating the production and use of space. As Yiftachel (1998: 395) notes:

> "Planning is the formulation, content, and implementation of spatial public policies. In other words, the practice of planning includes all public policies that affect urban and regional development, zoning and land use, or more generally, the public production of space. It includes urban, regional, and national spatial policies controlled directly or indirectly by the state."

At its most basic level, planning has always been a technically-oriented activity that focuses on identifying the appropriate land uses for an area (Hodge, 1998). Determining 'appropriate use' has always been a highly politicized process, however, and planning decisions are often made through political negotiations and the exercise of political will (Forester, 1989). Therefore, urban planning is concerned not only about the physical structure of the city, but also about how people use and are served by the structure, from the development of city plans to municipal service provision (Hodge, 1998: 201; Frisken and Wallace, 2000).

Since the mid-1960's, with the rise of identity politics, many different strands of planning have developed. From feminist planning to the communicative tradition, these new strands are often critical of the rational planning model, and proponents argue that power relations between majority and minority groups are unequal and in need of restitution (Sandercock, 2003a: 21). As a result, urban planning has moved beyond simple land use rationalization decisions to include elements such as environmental advocacy, historic preservation, and community development. These new 'social planning' approaches attempt to bring people together to identify what dissatisfies them, imagine alternatives, work through their differences, and work together in solidarity for a cause (Baum, 2000: 115). Planning then deals as much with resources as with relationships (Sandercock, 2003a: 160).

The rise of advocacy-type planning has led to the development of community-based planning or empowerment planning (Friedmann, 1992a). The empowerment or community-building approach can be led either by planners or residents, and "integrates the principles and methods of participatory action research, direct action organizing, and education for critical consciousness" (Reardon, 1998: 326). In this case, Reardon is referring to the resident-led revitalization of Emerson Park, St. Louis, where planning actions focused on neighbourhood beautification and public safety projects, housing redevelopment, access to public transportation, and programs to help eliminate drug-dealing. The incorporation of residents as 'planners' suggests that planning also occurs in two directions. "Top-down" planning originates with the state or with the development industry, while "bottom-up" planning originates at the neighbourhood or community level, often in opposition to state-directed planning (Baum, 2000).

Community-based planning that is rooted in the practical knowledge of local people is often known as "informal" planning. Viewed in this way, planning becomes a human activity, not one that is limited to the planning profession. A planning situation is therefore informal when a planned end state is observed, but where the process leading up to it is not formal or institutionalized (Nunn, 1991; Verma, 1995). As Briassoulis (1998: 106) notes:

> "A group of actors seeks to satisfy their goals, they choose rationally, within the constraints of the context, a feasible course of action to proceed as well as any available means and procedures (licit or illicit) to act as required; whenever the formal planning system is obstructive, they bypass the impediments accordingly; they act consistently and persistently, and they stop when they get things done. The process just described is a planning process, although it occurs outside (or in the shadow of) the formal planning system. The end result of informal planning is usually legitimate in a broad societal sense, although maybe not legal under the formal administrative system."

Informal planning actions are sometimes called 'alternative' actions, since they take place outside the mandate of municipal departments. Alternative planning actions are concerned less with shaping the physical environment than with creating a healthy lived environment, often in minority or marginalized communities where urban service delivery, access to transportation and employment, social work, and health issues are as important during planning efforts as physical infrastructural improvements to housing or local parks (Gilkes, 1988; Dubrow, 1992; Dubrow and Goodman, 2002). As this dissertation will demonstrate, many of the challenges and opportunities for planning in multiethnic contexts seem to occur at the juncture between top-down and bottom-up planning approaches.

1.3.2 The First Challenge: Disadvantage and Discrimination

Community-based planning approaches are rooted in attempts to overturn the disadvantage and discrimination that is often believed to affect minority or immigrant communities and neighbourhoods (Friedmann, 1992a; Rabrenovic, 1996). In fact, many scholars consider that planning is challenged by socio-political forces that peripheralize minority neighbourhoods or groups, excluding them from, or only partially including them in, the decision-making processes that determine the quality of their daily lives (Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). This challenge operates at the level of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the level of disadvantaged groups.

a) Disadvantaged neighbourhoods

Research on minority and immigrant communities tends to link ethnicity and race with lesser economic and residential status, especially in the United States and Europe (Cross and Keith, 1993; Hargreaves and McKinney, 1997). Researchers have pointed out that ethno-racial minorities and newer immigrants are disproportionately represented in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, usually defined as working class neighbourhoods with higher than average unemployment levels where access to suitable housing, safe public spaces, recreational activities, public transportation, and employment are often limited (Shroder, 2001; Skifter-Anderson, 2003). These neighbourhoods pose a challenge because studies tend to suggest that if the current pattern of immigration continues, the need for municipal authorities to operate effectively within these socially complex situations will become more pressing (Allen and Cars, 2001; Khakee, Soma, and Thomas, 1999).

Concerned over conditions in disadvantaged minority neighbourhoods, authorities in many cities have tried to 'manage' these areas and reduce urban fears of criminality and conflict by instituting neighbourhood revitalization programs. These programs usually target physical-spatial infrastructure (housing renewal, improved transportation, provision of community facilities) or broad socio-economic goals (improving local schools' track-records or encouraging integration in the workforce). However, many of the newer programs, such as the *Neighbourhood Management* program in the United Kingdom or the City of Montreal's joint municipal-provincial "*Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés*" program, tend to work at the micro-scale, in neighbourhoods of between 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The goal of these 'local revitalization projects' is to improve residents' quality of life along with neighbourhood quality. The idea is that residents will remain in the neighbourhood and not disperse out to "better" ones, as is the intent of programs such as the American *Moving to Opportunity* program (Katz, Kling, and Liebman, 2001).

The effectiveness of these types of responses is often called into question (Takahashi, 1998; Shroder, 2001; Ellen and Turner, 1997; Allen and Cars, 2001; Khakee, Somma, and Thomas, 1999). For example, Allen and Cars (2001) evaluated the outcome of neighbourhood renewal programs in ten 'socially-excluded' multiethnic neighbourhoods (degraded neighbourhoods that are home to groups of people at risk of social exclusion) across Europe. They found that local

service delivery agencies suffering cut-backs due to welfare state reforms were unable to deliver appropriate levels of services to residents. This enhanced residents' feeling of powerlessness vis-à-vis larger municipal service delivery structures, and reinforced the notion among municipal authorities that residents make up a homogeneous disenfranchised group suffering from 'multiple disadvantage'. Consequently, it was difficult for planners and service providers to recognize the significant elements of social and cultural diversity within the study neighbourhoods (Allen and Cars, 2001: 2200). In other words, municipal actions carried out within these multiethnic 'disadvantaged' neighbourhoods were monocultural - rooted in the dominant culture. Cultural diversity was seen as a problem by public authorities as opposed to a potential source of ideas or solutions because people did not behave as expected (Allen and Cars, 2001: 2202). Due to mutual mistrust and unfavourable labelling, Allen and Cars (2001: 2201) believe that the best solution most likely involves ways of creating effective micro-political processes and structures within neighbourhoods.

Likewise, Khakee, Somma, and Thomas (1999) also found that municipal revitalization programs tend to ghettoize immigrant neighbourhoods further, since they perpetuate socio-economic and political perceptions that hinder integration. As Parekh (2000: 212) notes, these types of situations (development of false perceptions on the part of authorities *and* residents, and mis-targeted programs) intensify cross-cultural tensions and can only be reversed when municipal action is designed from the bottom up by the specific groups involved in an area. Researchers looking at disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the United States also support these conclusions (Takahashi, 1998; Shroder, 2001). Scholarly evaluation of top-down neighbourhood and housing revitalization programs in the United States (Ellen and Turner, 1997; Shroder, 2001; Goering *et al*, 1999; Katz, Kling, and Liebman, 2001; Salama, 1999) and in Europe (Donzelot and Mével, 2001; Vielliard-Baron, 2000; Allen and Cars, 2001; Khakee, Somma, and Thomas, 1999) is torn on the effectiveness of these programs in general, feeling that they have not taken into consideration social forces present in the host society that prevent the movement of neighbourhoods (and their residents) into the realm of the "middle class". Little scholarly evaluation of recent top-down neighbourhood revitalization programs in Canadian cities exists, particularly of the joint municipal-provincial *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* program in Montreal (although comparative policy reviews exist – see Bacqué *et al*, 2003, and Dansereau *et al*, 2003). On the other hand, fairly similar findings have been reported for the housing sector in Canada (Henry *et al*, 2000; Ledoyen, 2004).

The challenge faced by planning in multiethnic neighbourhoods where disadvantage adds another level of complexity is threefold. First, municipal planning actions designed to improve quality of life are often considered to be ineffective because they misread the issues facing diverse groups in the neighbourhood (Allen and Cars, 2001: 2206; Parekh, 2000). Second, the ethnocultural composition of these neighbourhoods often evolves over time as immigrant flows change, and therefore the expectations and concerns of current residents may not correspond with those of future residents. And third, authorities who are unfamiliar with the context are not always able to distinguish between conflicts or problems that have real consequences (and therefore require intervention) and those which "arise from the irritation of incomprehension" (Allen and Cars, 2001: 2207).

b) Disadvantaged groups

Disadvantaged groups are another challenge for planning because research has shown that municipal planning and service provision can discriminate either consciously or unconsciously against certain minority groups (Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993; Thomas, 1998). In a landmark study, Krishnarayan and Thomas (1993) explored the sensitivity of the British planning system to the needs of racial and ethnic minorities. After surveying over 400 local planning authorities, their report concluded that there was a great deal of ignorance about the existence and nature of racial/ethnic disadvantage in planning. While overt attempts to use the planning system to promote racist objectives as had occurred in parts of the United States (Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997) were missing, authorities considered that 'ethnicity' and 'race' were social policy issues, not planning concerns (Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993: 124). Therefore, planners were simply unaware that municipal policies and practices could have a discriminatory effect on certain groups.

This 'blindness to difference' was first demonstrated by Rex and Moore (1967) in their analysis of the dynamics of residential segregation and public housing in Birmingham. They showed how bureaucratic procedures considered to be fair because they applied equally to everybody could have different outcomes according to one's 'race' or ethnicity. In Birmingham, public housing was allocated to people registered on a waiting list according to the number of points they had accumulated, which were unintentionally biased towards native British families (length of time

on the waiting list, years of war service, etc.). To even qualify for the list, residents had to be living in the city for five years, which also put immigrants at a disadvantage. Therefore, these two studies show that lack of awareness for the different realities of racial and ethnic minorities can lead to discriminatory outcomes unintentionally. This type of blindness to possible discrimination is not as easy to address as outright racism would be, since overt discrimination can be regulated by the courts (Wieviorka, 1995).

As a whole, planners and municipal managers find it difficult to accept that current bureaucratic procedures can systematically cause disproportionate problems for certain sectors of the population (Rex and Mason, 1987; Mason, 1987; Allen, 2000; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002). In addition, several studies have shown that planning authorities tend to fall into two broad categories depending on the importance they attribute to 'race' or ethnicity in their daily activities (Thomas, 1995; Frisken and Wallace, 2000). The largest group always considers that 'race' or ethnicity has no particular relevance to their day-to-day planning functions. A much smaller group is more inclined to introduce innovations of various kinds to help resolve issues or problems involving different cultural groups. All in all, blindness to the fact that municipal policies or programs may possibly result in discriminatory outcomes for certain groups is a very difficult challenge for most planners and municipal authorities, because these professionals usually assume that their practices are fair and just to all groups (Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002).

1.3.3 The Second Challenge: Claims Over Public Space

The second challenge involves competing claims over public space. As different ethnocultural and immigrant groups grow larger and become more established over time, so do their institutions, organizations, and leadership, which sometimes 'compete' for urban space with host society institutions and values (Sassen, 1996). One only has to look at the conflict engendered by "monster homes" in Vancouver, massive houses constructed by immigrants from Hong Kong that defy planning ordinances and neighbourhood zoning regulations (Smart and Smart, 1996). Another example is the controversy erupting over the siting of places of worship belonging to ethnic minority groups in host society neighbourhoods (Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999). The symbolic and visible claims made to public space in the form of new

housing construction types and ethnic places of worship are therefore a challenge for planners who are often caught in the middle.

These types of claims also occur in the commercial sector. North American examples include the proliferation of "Asian-theme" condo-malls, where store units are owned by individual proprietors (Wallace, 1999), "Asian-style" residential development that is marketed to prospective immigrants in Asian countries (Light, 2002), and certain retail and other commercial practices (signage, street vending, health regulations regarding the preparation and storage of food, construction practices, etc.). In many cases, planners find themselves mediating between the developer/entrepreneur and fearful residents/authorities in order to ensure that planning guidelines are respected while still allowing the entrepreneur to proceed according to his or her own conceptions (Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Frisken and Wallace, 2000).

A third type of claim involves actual public spaces, ranging from neighbourhood transformation to park design and recreation. Ameyaw (2000) discusses the case of Surrey in British Columbia, a historic Victorian neighbourhood where South Asians have been constructing mega-homes for their extended families and using streets and sidewalks as active public spaces. Planners in Surrey have had to mediate between South Asians and other residents in order to resolve conflict over neighbourhood style and use. No matter what the social composition of a given neighbourhood might be, municipal authorities across Canada are faced with demands for such things as culturally-specific park infrastructure or commemorative parks and statues dedicated to ethno-national heroes or events (Martin, 2000). These wishes are not always easy for planners to accommodate, especially when the item requested has little resonance for other members of the society (Martin, 2000). As well, some municipalities are struggling to deal with increasing demands for different types of recreational services, from requests for "women-only" swim times at public pools to ethnic sports clubs that demand full access to public facilities even though their activities are closed to non-ethnic group members (Richardson, 2001).

The dilemma here has less to do with the use or development itself than with the way the meaning of public space is mediated between established and newer groups. The challenge for planning occurs at two levels. First of all, the potential for conflict between established and newer groups can create situations where xenophobia or racism within neighbourhoods finds

expression or outlet through the planning system (Sandercock, 2003a: 131). As Moore Milroy and Wallace (2002: 250) report:

> "These conflicts are usually debated in terms of traditional, technical planning concerns like parking, traffic, appropriate planned use, etc., although some ask if these camouflage fears about demographic change and discriminatory attitudes. [...] As a result, the planning process can potentially become a venue that exposes tensions, conflict and racism in a community."

In addition, municipal authorities often come up against cultural practices that are not easily reconciled with their own assumptions, values, and professional training (Sandercock, 2003c), which can challenge their established assumptions about everyday social life and colour their response.

1.3.4 The Third Challenge: Ideas of the Public Interest(s)

The collision of culturally-based values and assumptions leads us to the third major challenge for planning – that of determining the public interest in societies that are rapidly diversifying.

a) Conflicting notions of "public interest"

Moore Milroy and Wallace (2002) surveyed urban planners in 25 municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area to determine the extent to which they acknowledge ethnocultural and 'ethno-racial' diversity in their daily planning activities. All planners interviewed report that they are working "in the public interest", which means striving for equity in their activities. However, like other researchers before them (Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993; Qadeer, 1994; Sandercock and Kliger, 1998a, 1998b), Moore Milroy and Wallace discovered that planners have a good deal of difficulty figuring out what 'equitable' and 'public interest' mean in a multiethnic context. The great majority said that they do not reach out to ethnocultural groups or encourage their participation in public consultation forums. Either they do not have the resources to do so, or else they feel that it is inappropriate to target a particular group. Overall, planners seemed unaware that ethnocultural differences could be an issue or that the concerns of ethnocultural communities could be different from those of the general population.

The assumption of a single public interest not only challenges planning practice, it also hinders the development of a truly equitable and inclusive process (Young, 2000). Despite this, Canadian planning practice tends to consider that planning in the common public interest is the most appropriate and equitable approach (Hodge, 1998: 439). Planning is said to operate in the public interest if it creates "sound, amenable development for the community as a whole" (Hodge, 1998: 197). Planners have not only assumed that a common public interest exists, they have also assumed that they are capable of defining what it is (Alexander, 1992: 129), even though there is no ready mechanism for doing so (Hodge, 1998: 402).

The idea of a common public interest was put into question by Davidoff (1965), who argued that planners should not only identify what values underlie their proscriptions, but also take action to affirm them. Over the ensuing decades, different groups have indicated that their interests are not being met because 'public interest' is too narrowly defined, from feminists (Sandercock and Forsyth, 1992) to racial minorities (Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997) and gays and lesbians (Forsyth, 1997). Despite almost four decades of criticism, however, the notion of a single common public interest prevails (Alexander, 1992: 130). Some still believe that planning is in the public interest if it appears equitable, or if it improves the situation of those worst off in the community (Alexander, 1992). On the other hand, others interpret the public interest to mean the 'relevant public', where planning is in the public interest if it benefits the individuals who are relevant to the issue at hand, although it is the planner who decides who is relevant (Klosterman, 1980: 326). In addition, the democratic participation approach holds that planning is in the public interest as long as everyone participates. Therefore, the accuracy of the public interest is related to the level of participation in public forums (Arnstein, 1969). This latter perspective continues to dominate even though the effectiveness of the public participation process has been questioned substantially (Wallace, Woo, and Boudreau, 1997; Vertovec, 1999).

For these reasons, authors such as Sandercock (1998a, 2003a) and Young (2000) argue that the idea of a single common public interest has little validity in a multiethnic society. They propose expanding the definition of public interest to one that takes a 'multiple publics' perspective, assuming diversity in behaviour, opinion, and experiences to be the norm rather than the exception.

b) 'Public interest' versus 'multiple publics' in Canadian and Quebec planning policy

Nevertheless, urban planning in Canada is regulated through provincial legislation and municipal by-laws, where "assumptions of a single public interest, in fact, of a single homogeneous population, have deep roots in the legal and professional tradition that municipal planning is based on" (Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002: 66). For example, the Quebec provincial planning code, the *Act Respecting Land Use Planning and Development / Loi sur l'aménagement et l'urbanisme* (enacted in 1979 and amended in 2002), requires municipal and regional administrations to hold public consultations to determine if a proposal is 'in the public interest'. This includes changes to official plans and zoning by-laws, or any development matter that might be of interest to certain individuals or organizations. On the other hand, the cities of Montreal and Quebec were granted charters in 1831 that give them a wide leeway in terms of deciding when and where public consultation is required in order to determine if a proposal is in the public interest (Germain and Rose, 2000). The problem this poses is that in Quebec, land use planning law is inspired more by the American than the British system (Giroux, 1979) and the legal procedures for recourse available on municipal planning decisions in Ontario are practically non-existent in Quebec (Poirier, 1995). It has always been possible to appeal a decision to the Minister for Municipal Affairs, while recourse to the Quebec Municipal Commission is available for matters related to official plans. However, these types of venues do not necessarily give citizens full opportunity to challenge municipal planning decisions that might be based on erroneous notions of the common public interest (Poirier, 1995). This leaves only the courts as a main recourse, which can sometimes be too costly and time-consuming for many citizens or citizens' groups.

It should come as no surprise that the Quebec provincial planning code makes no mention whatsoever of anything more diverse than a single common public interest. On the other hand, the Canadian Institute of Planners adopted a Statement of Values in 1994 that directs planners to "value the natural and cultural environment, [...] to respect diversity, [...] and to foster meaningful public participation by all individuals and groups and to seek to articulate the needs of those whose interests have not been represented." This Statement of Values is not enforceable, however, since it does not show up in the Institute's Code of Professional Conduct (Canadian Institute of Planners, 1994). This recommendation does not exist at all at the level of the *Ordre*

des urbanistes du Québec (or the *Association des aménagistes du Québec*, for that matter), although the issue of cultural diversity has been brought up in terms of ethical behaviour during member training sessions (OUQ, 2004).

Despite the relative 'invisibility' of notions of a more diverse public interest at the provincial level in Quebec, the situation is slightly different in the case of the City of Montreal. In *Les orientations et les stratégies du Plan d'urbanisme de Montréal*, the guide that accompanies the final version of Montreal's Master Plan (1992), recognition of a diverse public is made throughout. It appears in the demographic portrait of Montreal and in the various objectives of the Master Plan, including the need to accommodate a heterogeneity of family types (particularly larger or extended families) in new housing construction and to attend to culturally diverse needs in neighbourhood planning and commercial/economic development. This attention to diversity also appears in the separate neighbourhood plans established for each district in Montreal, especially those that have a tradition of immigrant reception and settlement. However, the means of ensuring that the diverse interests of different groups are factored into local planning processes are left up to the vagaries of the public hearings that take place on a monthly basis in Montreal's boroughs.

Urban planning responsibilities in the City of Montreal are spread out across a range of planning agencies (from the Executive Committee to the Urban Development Commission and the Urban Planning Division of the *Service du développement économique et urbain*). In addition, each borough has a local planning team whose sole responsibility is permit approval, heritage issues, and development consultation. The strategies mentioned in the Master Plan demonstrate that urban planning responsibilities in Montreal overlap with those of many different municipal departments (parks, sports and recreation, community development, public works, public housing, etc.). The extent to which these various divisions and actors take the recognition of cultural diversity made in the Master Plan into account when determining what the public interest in a multiethnic city might be remains unknown.

The challenge for planners faced with contested notions of the public interest is that the "norms and values of the dominant culture are usually embedded in legislative frameworks of planning, bylaws, and regulations" (Sandercock, 2003a: 130). These frameworks have been developed over many years and are not so easily overhauled (Sandercock, 2000). The problem is that the

notion of 'public interest' silently encodes ideas on society, from the form of relationships to family structure, religious practices, and public space preferences. In other words, planning principles developed on the notion of a common public interest are also "embedded in the social patterns of the dominant culture" (Qadeer, 2000: 17). The principle of equity, so cherished by planners in Moore Milroy and Wallace's (2002) study, is questionable if a lag exists between legislated notions of a common public interest and the social reality of multiple publics or culturally diverse interests (Sandercock, 1998a, 2003a; Young, 2000).

1.3.5 The Fourth Challenge: The Difficulty of Taking Diversity Seriously

The idea of a common public interest prevents planning professionals in multiethnic contexts from taking culture seriously, since it makes it easier for planners to believe that others see things the same way that they do. Therefore, when 'cultural Others' say or do something 'we would not', they are simply being illogical (Baum, 2000: 118). This presents a more insidious challenge for planning because the norms and values of the dominant culture to which most planners belong (either through ethnic origin or through occupational affiliation) become embodied in their attitudes, behaviour, and practice (Sandercock, 2003c). This challenge becomes even greater when municipal decision-makers hold deep-seated beliefs about the superiority of their own culture, or if they believe that immigrants and minority groups should adopt the norms of the majority culture. Even when planners do recognize differences between other cultures and their own, they can still hold unconscious assumptions about these cultures (Baum, 2000: 119).

When planners insist on seeing themselves as neutral and objective actors, this can encourage professional certitude that can lead to misunderstandings, animosity, or professional difficulties. The situation is not much clearer for planners who are themselves of minority origin, for they must still be able to understand other cultural viewpoints and be able to develop a *modus operandi* that respects 'multiple publics' and multiple interests. If, as Baum (2000: 132) suggests, all planning is a cross-cultural encounter, then the potential for cultural misunderstandings is only amplified in a multiethnic setting (Burayidi, 2000). Planning is carried out by people who have their own values and perceptions. In the absence of a legislated vision of 'multiple publics', this becomes the most difficult challenge to overcome, for it helps determine the willingness of planners and municipal authorities to accommodate multiple interests.

1.4 MUNICIPAL RESPONSE: FROM POLICY TO PRACTICE

1.4.1 Global Responses

Faced with the challenge of managing increasingly multiethnic cities, municipal actors worldwide have responded to diversity in several general ways. These range from the refusal to consider difference at all to the development of more culturally-aware policies and practices. In Britain, Thomas (1995) discovered that municipal planning response to cultural and racial diversity depends on two main factors. First of all, it depends on local political circumstances, or on what he calls the 'local politics of race or ethnicity'. This means that policy measures are needed to encourage planners to move from a purely technical response to one in which cultural or racial difference becomes an operational planning problem. And second, the response of planning officials depends highly on how important they believe that ethnicity or race is to their planning functions. In other contexts, pro-diversity municipal responses have sometimes been sidelined due to antagonism from local constituents. For example, in the United States, the challenge of dealing respectfully with diversity has been complicated in many cases by the reluctance to accommodate racial openness (Martin and Warner, 2000: 272-8). The result is that municipal planning programs geared towards combating racial disadvantage, such as anti-redlining campaigns, equity assurance programs (designed to assuage fears that property values will decrease if the number of African American residents increases), and pro-residential integration programs have sometimes been met with scepticism and outright antagonism by local residents and actors (Rotella, 1998).

These research findings have been replicated by a growing number of studies in Canada (Qadeer, 1994, 1997; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Wallace and Moore Milroy, 1999; Germain *et al*, 2003; Ameyaw, 2000; Edgington and Hutton, 2002), the United States (Burayidi, 2000), Australia (Thompson, 2003; Watson and McGillivray, 1995; Sandercock and Kliger, 1998a, 1998b), Europe (Allen and Cars, 2001; Khakee, Somma, and Thomas, 1999; Ratcliffe, 1999; Vertovec, 1999), and Israel (Yiftachel, 1992, 1996, 2000; Fenster, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). In addition, a small but growing body of research on municipal response in East Asian and South Asian cities has also been coming to similar conclusions (Logan, 2002; Islam *et al*, 2003; Shami, 2003, for example). All these studies carried out in different cities and in different national contexts are important because they show that increasing multiethnicity tends to elicit

the same types of responses on the part of municipal authorities, planners, and residents – from "blindness to difference" and outright antagonism to policy measures that intercede and mediate between different cultural groups in the name of "equity".

1.4.2 Policy Responses: Institution of Multiculturalism or Interculturalism Policies

Although many municipalities have no cultural diversity policies at all, others have instituted policies or strategies designed to help "deal" with diversity. In Alexander's (2001) study of municipal policies towards immigrants in 25 European and Israeli cities, he concluded that cities pass through a five-part evolution regarding the amount of attention they accord to immigrants. The initial three stages involve assimilationist-type policies. These range from "non-policy" (municipalities are unaware of, or ignore, immigrant populations) to "guest-worker" policies (services to immigrants are limited since they are considered to be merely temporary workers) and "assimilationist" policies (immigrants are considered to be permanent, but their Otherness is expected to disappear). The next two stages are more inclusive. In the "pluralist" stage, difference is valorized for its integrative capacities as well as for the cultural wealth it bestows on a city. The formation of ethnocultural associations is encouraged and the representation of ethnic groups on political instances is sought. In the final "intercultural" stage, the integrative capacity of intercultural exchange is stressed, although specific needs are usually accepted under certain circumstances. Immigrants and members of the host society are encouraged to share common spaces and activities in order to learn from one another and to create a more harmonious urban environment.

Some researchers do not feel that Alexander's stages can be applied as easily to Canadian cities. In their study of municipal response in the Montreal area, Germain *et al* (2003: 12) argue that few municipalities seem to have the wealth of experience required to move through these different stages. In addition, Alexander's stages may be inappropriate to Canadian cities since they focus solely on immigrants, not cultural diversity. For this reason, Germain *et al* (2003) argue that Michel Wieviorka's (1993) policy response types may be more appropriate. These range from: 1. Republican-type policies where public expression of cultural difference is not recognized but where private expression is accepted, 2. policies where difference is recognized, respected, and accorded certain rights, and 3. policies of tolerance where difference is acceptable as long as it does not pose conflict, tension, or visible problems in public and private life.

A quick survey of multiculturalism or interculturalism policies in Canada's three largest immigrant-receiving cities (Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal) shows that perhaps the latter policy type is the one that tends to dominate (see discussion below). On the other hand, researchers have noted that despite the importance granted to immigration, race, and ethnic diversity in multiculturalism policies and programs at the national level, this has been relatively neglected at the municipal level (Abu Laban, 1997; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Germain and Gagnon, 2003). Despite this, several municipalities in the Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal areas instituted multiculturalism or interculturalism policies in the 1990's that resemble one another in many respects.

It bears mention at this point that this dissertation will not discuss policies developed after 2001. Fieldwork for our doctoral research project ended just prior to the Montreal municipal mergers of January 2002. The context of post-merger harmonization of policies across different boroughs in the new City of Montreal is incomplete, particularly in the wake of the de-merger referendums held in June 2004, where many formerly-independent municipalities were given the green light to de-merge, and will do so over the course of 2005 and 2006. As well, harmonization and development of new policies after the mergers in Toronto will only be discussed up until the end of 2001, although many interesting new developments in terms of diversity policies have occurred since then. However, the research project on which this dissertation is based ended in late 2001, and so policy events taking place after this time do not affect the study's results.

a) Vancouver and Toronto: multiculturalism policies

Only three out of 22 municipalities in the Vancouver area have adopted formal diversity management policies – the cities of Vancouver, Richmond, and Burnaby. These are the oldest and most multiethnic municipalities in the region, and receive the highest number of new immigrants (Edgington and Hutton, 2002). These policies include the commitment to support multiculturalism and to adapt local services in order to render them accessible to all residents (by means of translation services and inter-ethnic participation programs, for example). The City of Vancouver itself has had a multiculturalism policy since 1992, when the CityPlan initiative was devised to increase ethnic community involvement in politics and planning through "locally-based visioning exercises" (Abu Laban, 1997). In 1995, Vancouver instituted the City Diversification Strategy, designed to involve local communities and minorities in community-

based planning processes and local decision-making forums. Fairly recently, the City of Vancouver hired "multicultural" urban planners, who are tasked specifically with ensuring that planning response concords with multicultural social realities and with leading mediation sessions between different groups (Edgington and Hutton, 2002: 20).

Turning to municipalities in the Toronto area, only the City of Toronto has adopted broad multiculturalism and diversity management policies. In 1990, Toronto adopted the Principle of Ethno-Racial Access to Metropolitan Services, which required that all departments develop an Access Action Plan in conjunction with the newly-formed Multicultural and Race Relations Division, later consolidated into the Access and Equity Centre. The Access and Equity Centre administers Toronto's employment equity, human rights, anti-harassment, and anti-hate policies. It also supports cultural sensitivity training for municipal staff and oversees a multilingual information unit. In 1999, despite differences of opinion on the lengths to which the newly-merged city of Toronto should go in promoting employment equity and the full participation of minorities in decision-making forums (Frisken and Wallace, 2000), Toronto adopted a Vision Statement that committed all the newly-merged municipalities to the creation of an environment of equality for all. As a result, the Community Advisory Committee on Race and Ethnic Relations was created in 2000 to advise City Council on related issues. Most other municipalities in the Toronto area do not have diversity management policies (although some have 'race relations' policies), especially those that receive less immigrants or that are farther away from the urban core (Frisken and Wallace, 2000). This is also true for the majority of municipalities in the Vancouver area (Au, 2000; Edgington and Hutton, 2002).

b) Montreal: interculturalism policies

The City of Montreal was the first city in Canada to develop a policy demonstrating its openness to ethnocultural diversity (Germain *et al*, 2003). In 1988, the *Bureau Interculturel de Montréal* was created as a reference and consultation centre. This division devised the *Déclaration de Montréal contre la discrimination raciale*, adopted by the City in 1989. This policy statement recommended implementing an access to equality program in employment, as well as creating a consultative committee on inter-racial and intercultural relations (the *Comité Aviseur sur les relations interculturelles de Montréal*, created in 1995). Now the *Bureau des Affaires interculturelles*, this division is mandated with ensuring that all municipal departments take the

concerns and needs of cultural communities into account. In specific cases, Bureau representatives encourage parties to find mutually acceptable solutions, while more generally, the Bureau offers intercultural awareness sessions to managers, describing the culturally-specific realities they are confronted with on a daily basis and demonstrating how they should behave in conflictual situations (Germain *et al*, 2003: 41).

Recognizing that most new immigrants to the province of Quebec settle in Montreal, in 1999 the *Bureau des Affaires interculturelles* instigated a cooperative program between the City and the provincial *Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration* called the *Plan d'action visant l'acceuil et l'intégration en français des immigrants dans les quartiers de Montréal*. The main objective of this program, besides that of neighbourhood integration, is to help introduce new arrivals to the municipal structure and to the services offered by the City of Montreal.

In 2000, the *Bureau des Affaires interculturelles* released the outlines of an interculturalism policy and management strategy entitled *Construire Ensemble – Orientations 2000-2001-2002*. This document highlights four main management targets: 1. focus on immigrant reception and settlement; 2. apply the principles of equity, non-discrimination, and non-exclusion; 3. account for diverse needs in operations and service provision; and 4. consolidate Montreal's cosmopolitan character. An accompanying guide was published in 2001 in order to help managers and employees implement aspects of the city's new interculturalism policy, entitled *L'accommodement raisonnable: Guide à l'intention des gestionnaires de la Ville de Montréal* (Reasonable Accommodation: a Guide for City of Montreal Managers). This guide outlines the main principles of reasonable accommodation, which is a measure intended to counter discrimination within municipal institutions by providing a general framework for responding to requests or dealing with situations where cultural diversity or difference may be an issue. Management principles include: 1. recognizing community organizations as key players in the municipal service provision field; 2. encouraging all residents to take an active role in municipal life (but discouraging the creation of parallel networks, which could marginalize cultural groups); and 3. supporting the inclusion of all City departments in this dynamic because they provide services to ethnocultural groups, either directly or indirectly.

Unlike the multiculturalist approaches favoured by the cities of Vancouver and Toronto, the City of Montreal has adopted an interculturalist approach that is based on the interculturalism principle developed by the Quebec provincial government. In passing, it bears note that Quebec is the only province where the term "cultural communities" (referring to people who are not of French Canadian, English Canadian, or Native Canadian descent) has entered public speech. This term was coined in 1980 by the *Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration*, which wished to stress its openness to cultural difference. However, there has been a change of course in Quebec since the 1990's, which began when the *Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* changed its name to the *Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et l'Immigration* (MRCI). At that time, the MRCI stopped using the term 'cultural communities' officially (although it remains in common use). Although the MRCI emphasizes that all citizens of Quebec should be treated equally, it now considers that cultural differences are less important than the sense of belonging to Québécois society (Helly, 1999).

Likewise, the interculturalism principle aims to promote intercultural exchanges between the various cultures that contribute to the province's identity and that support its social, cultural, and economic development. As adopted by the City of Montreal, "the intercultural approach promotes exchanges among individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds, as part of a dynamic and interactive effort" (Ville de Montréal, 2000b), and preaches respect for difference and other cultures while valorizing cross-cultural understanding through participation in common activities (Ville de Montréal, 2000a: 17). The interculturalist approach therefore differs from a multiculturalist approach in that it proposes a way of living together in which everyone has similar civic rights and responsibilities, and where mutual understanding and respect within the overall framework of adhesion to Québécois society is important (Germain *et al*, 2003: 40).

It is interesting to note that studies on Montreal and Toronto have found that formal cultural diversity policies do not always filter down through various municipal departments, and that when they do, they are not always applied uniformly (if at all) within the same department (Germain *et al*, 2003: 11; Frisken and Wallace, 2000). For example, despite the existence of a formal interculturalism strategy, only a handful of City of Montreal departments have developed internal interculturalism policies or action plans (Germain *et al*, 2003: 171). The first to do so was the Sports and Recreation Department, which developed an Action Plan on Intercultural

Matters in 1997 in order to respond to the evolving nature of its clientele (Richardson, 2001). The Action Plan stresses the participation of all in recreational activities, while acknowledging that obstacles to accessibility exist for certain groups and that recreational needs can differ between cultural groups. However, this action plan is not applied uniformly by the various regional offices of this decentralized department, and practices differ according to clientele and territory (Germain *et al*, 2003; Richardson, 2001). Some regional managers refuse to entertain any sort of cultural particularism while others are more inclined to acquiesce to requests emanating from different ethnocultural groups in order to ensure that they are not unwittingly excluded from pursuing a recreational activity (Germain and Poirier, 2001; Richardson, 2001).

Turning to other municipalities in the Montreal area, several studies have found that there is no automatic correlation between the number of immigrants on a municipality's territory and the existence of formal interculturalism or multiculturalism policies (Germain *et al*, 2003: 171; Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Paré, Frohn, and Laurin, 2002). In some cases, municipalities that formerly had formal cultural diversity policies are beginning to renege on this commitment due to "managerial overload" and increasing controversy over certain projects and decisions among residents (Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Germain *et al*, 2003). Like their counterparts in Vancouver and Toronto, the largest municipalities in the Montreal area (Montreal, St. Laurent, and Laval) tend to have a wider range of formal cultural diversity policies than do smaller or more peripheral ones (Germain *et al*, 2003). Although Montreal area municipalities may differ in the form and content of their diversity policies, the overriding concern of municipal actors is to ensure immigrant integration. This means setting limits on the extent to which difference is publicly expressed, while still accepting requests that appear to be very important to particular communities (Germain *et al*, 2003; Germain and Gagnon, 2003).

In a nutshell, diversity policies instituted by municipalities in the Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal areas all focus on ways of increasing the accessibility of city services to different cultural groups and of mediating between culturally-based requests. However, none of these policy responses are what might be called proactive responses, which are institutionalized efforts to identify and address needs before problems arise (Tate and Quesnel, 1995). They are mostly reactive responses, since they involve setting up a unit of city government (an advisory committee, a local ombudsman) to deal with demands and concerns coming from diverse communities and to advise municipal managers how to respond (Tate and Quesnel, 1995).

1.4.3 Practical Responses: From Universalism to *Ad Hoc* Measures

Quite a few Canadian scholars have noted that a gap seems to exist between the existence of municipal multiculturalism or interculturalism policies and the response to diversity on the ground (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Germain *et al*, 2003; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Au, 2000). Given this, how are planners and other public actors actually responding to cultural diversity in their daily practice? The majority of research conducted on municipal practice in Canada suggests that across the board, public actors are either resistant to difference or else respond to it only if it appears necessary.

Studies on municipal practice in Toronto show that of all municipal authorities, planners are the least willing to account for ethnocultural variables in their daily work, and often perceive conflicts between different cultural groups as being merely land use conflicts (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002). Even when conflict arises, planners report that they are basing their decisions on the merits of the proposal, not on cultural issues. On the other hand, planners in the largest and most multiethnic municipalities are more likely to favour flexibility and compromise, especially with respect to commercial development (Asian-theme malls, for example) or uses that are unlikely to cause demonstrable nuisance to other groups (such as places of worship in an industrial zone). However, as Qadeer (1997) notes, this does not mean that planners are flexible in zoning matters that might favour one group while being restrictive to another.

Planners will often play the role of mediator between different cultural groups, not in support of culture, but in order to ensure that a compromise is reached between proponents and opponents of a particular development or use. For example, in municipalities such as Richmond and Burnaby, planning conflicts over "monster homes" have been defused by planners acting as mediators between concerned residents and Asian developers razing Victorian-era homes in order to build large Asian-style homes on the entirety of the lot. In these cases, the goal of planner-led mediation is to allay residents' fears while ensuring that construction meets the letter of local by-laws (Edgington and Hutton, 2002: 20). Planners also play a similar role during conflicts over Asian-theme malls and ethnic places of worship in Toronto area municipalities (Wallace, 1999; Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999, 2002; Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999). For example,

Isin and Siemiatycki (1999) studied a series of disputes surrounding applications for permits to establish mosques in Toronto. These proposals were hotly contested because for some, the visible presence of Islam on the urban landscape was somehow "non-Canadian". However, Isin and Siemiatycki found that media attention and planner-led mediation between local authorities and different groups led to the majority of these proposals being accepted, often in a more modified form that satisfied all parties.

Research on planning response in Montreal also tends to come to similar conclusions, although there are slight differences that arise due to the provincial context. For example, Germain and Gagnon (2003: 304) report that a certain concession to ethnocultural difference existed in Montreal throughout the 1990's, although at the end of the decade planning authorities seemed to be back-pedalling on their formerly tolerant attitudes towards culturally different uses in some cases. For example, the City of Montreal's by-law reforms of 1994 encouraged the use of special permits that granted non-transferable temporary dispensation from existing zoning regulations and by-laws. This allowed the City to dispense with spot-zoning or other permanent measures requiring substantial public hearings in order to accommodate requests for such things as ethnic places of worship, schools, and old-age homes (Germain and Gagnon, 2003). In 1998, the Montreal City Council made amendments to its zoning by-laws in order to allow places of worship to be established on the ground floor of buildings in commercial and service sectors. However, a dramatic increase in the number of permit requests for 'storefront' places of worship led to the enactment of a moratorium on new permit issuance in 1999, since planners wanted to buy time in order to study how the City should address this highly vocal need on the part of certain cultural groups (Germain and Gagnon, 2003: 304).

Germain *et al* (2003) analyzed the response of municipal authorities in the Montreal area to cultural diversity in the fields of sports and recreation, planning (places of worship), and public housing. Their findings are similar to those of other Canadian studies (for example, Frisken and Wallace, 2000). Planners and municipal authorities either refuse outright to consider culturally-based differences at all, or else they prefer to respond on an *ad hoc* basis. The prevalence of what Germain *et al* (2003) call "adhocratism" means that municipal officials usually proceed by trial and error, constructing positions on cultural difference as problems crop up and as municipal authorities interact with different communities and actors in the field. Refusal to consider cultural difference is usually based on fears that acceptance might lead to the formation of ethnic

'ghettos' or to the withdrawal of the ethnic group from the society at large. On the other hand, there are two main reasons for responding in favour of difference. First, decision-makers consider that immigrants will gradually integrate and become active citizens who participate in common political institutions if they are 'allowed' to enjoy the comfort of their own community during this process. The second reason is that these seemingly favourable decisions are sometimes the result of intensive lobbying by established ethnocultural communities or by elected officials belonging to these communities, and often override the objections of local citizens (Germain *et al*, 2003: 173).

Furthermore, Germain and Gagnon (2003) found a growing unwillingness among municipal authorities to accommodate permit requests for new 'ethnic' places of worship in their study of the expansion or siting of sixteen places of worship in different municipalities in the Montreal area. Many applications were being flatly turned down, even when the site was previously used for institutional purposes, which was not the case in the early to mid 1990's. Unlike the situation in the Toronto area where satisfactory compromises between opposing groups tended to be reached (Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999), Germain and Gagnon (2003) found that planning approval of new places of worship had often been pushed through council over the objections of citizens or as a result of intensive negotiations between opposing groups, leading to an uneasy stasis. This reluctance of decision-makers or citizens to accommodate 'different' uses might possibly be linked to negative attitudes towards new immigrant groups arising from popular resistance in Quebec to the increasing visibility and role of religion in a "secular" society (Germain and Gagnon, 2003).

These types of attitudes and this ambivalence to difference in practice is perhaps stronger in Quebec than in other provinces due to the history of Montreal area municipalities and to the legacy of the Quiet Revolution. In the 19th century, English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants and existing French settlers established their own neighbourhoods in different parts of the island (McNicoll, 1993). Over the next century, newly arriving European immigrants, African Americans from the United States, and a trickle of Asian immigrants usually chose to settle in "Anglophone" areas, which tended to be more tolerant of different ethnic origins, languages, and religious practices (Germain and Rose, 2000). While over time some groups followed the classic models of immigrant assimilation and dispersion by moving on to more 'host society' neighbourhoods, others created specific neighbourhoods as their communities' economic status

and political stature improved (Germain *et al*, 2003: 2). Despite the increasing diversification in immigrant flows in the 1970's and 80's, many new immigrants still chose to settle in traditional immigrant reception neighbourhoods such as Park Extension and Côte des Neiges (Germain and Rose, 2000). However, this pattern changed in the early 1990's as new immigrants began settling in neighbourhoods unaccustomed to receiving immigrants. In some cases that is where they managed to find affordable housing, although in others they were directed there by settlement organizations wishing to hasten their integration into Quebec society. In addition, some were comparatively wealthier than previous immigrant groups and were able to purchase suburban homes right away (Charbonneau, 1995). This means that many newer immigrant groups now tend to be scattered across different neighbourhoods and municipalities, and so the notion of 'ethnic neighbourhood institutions and services' no longer applies. Not surprisingly, some of the most controversial planning cases that Germain and Gagnon (2003) studied are those where an ethno-religious group wished to build a large place of worship in a municipality where very few of their members live, but where the proposed site was close to public transportation and the municipality in question appeared to offer the services that the proposed institution might require.

In addition, French Canadian society as a whole has undergone a radical transformation since the 1960's with the advent of the Quiet Revolution, which stemmed from the desire to bring French Canadians into the modern economic age as well as from a rebellion against the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church (Levine, 1990). When this trajectory is combined with increasing immigrant waves from vastly different countries and societies, this might lead to the creation of greater tensions between immigrant groups and the host society than may occur in other provinces where this history of nationalism and the assertion of secularization on the part of the majority group does not exist. Viewed from this angle, the ambivalence towards accommodating culturally-based requests (particularly requests for 'ethnic' places of worship) on the part of many citizens and municipal authorities in the Montreal area begins to make more sense.

Despite contextual and historical differences between Canadian municipalities, the handful of studies conducted on municipal response to date all show that there is a profound uncertainty on the part of municipal authorities when it comes to cultural differences. It is not surprising to find that municipal planners across the board report feeling more comfortable adopting as neutral and rational a position as possible. This means using technical criteria to rationalize their defence of

minority interests or to acknowledge the impact of their decisions on different ethnocultural communities (Qadeer, 1997; Frisken and Wallace, 2000). It also means choosing to remain "blind" to ethnocultural differences, even though planners accommodate them as long as they fit in with the overall land use by-laws and regulations (Qadeer, 1994: 193). On the other hand, the existence of *ad hoc* planning responses (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Germain *et al*, 2003) certainly fits in with what Wieviorka (1993) describes as policies (or practices) of tolerance, where cultural difference is acceptable as long as it does not pose any major problems and flies below the radar of the dominant group's values.

The distance between the existence of municipal multiculturalism/interculturalism policies and the 'adhocratism' (Germain *et al*, 2003) and 'blindness to difference' (Frisken and Wallace, 2000) that often prevails at the level of daily practice in Canada's largest immigrant-receiving cities can partially be explained by the fact that increasing immigration levels and diversification have occurred at the same time that municipalities are struggling to maintain satisfactory levels of services in the face of declining resources and the downloading of program responsibilities from provincial authorities (Edgington and Hutton, 2002). As Moore Milroy and Wallace (2002) note, most municipal departments do not have the resources needed to adopt more inclusive practices (these resources can range from demographic analysis to community outreach and better cross-cultural communication skills). On the other hand, this may not be the full answer. The choice of a rational and value-neutral approach to planning, based on the principles of equity and a common public interest, is upheld by professional training and education, and thus may also serve to maintain this distance between policy and practice.

1.5 THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The existence of a distance between policy and practice suggests that more research is needed on the way planning operates in multiethnic contexts, from the level of the micro-unit (street or neighbourhood) to the realm of municipal process, in order to understand how this distance may be closed and how inclusive policy and practice may be instituted in municipalities that presently enjoy neither. This doctoral dissertation wishes to do just that, through a case study on the way planning for public space and the lived environment is approached and perceived by actors (residents, community group workers, public authorities) in a highly multiethnic neighbourhood in Montreal.

1.5.1 Evolution of the Research Project

This doctoral research project was inspired by several other research projects in Montreal. First, in 1995 Germain *et al* published their in-depth analysis of inter-ethnic coexistence in public space in seven multiethnic neighbourhoods in Montreal. Contributors such as Blanc (1995) analyzed patterns of inter-group interactions and public space use in major public parks and micro-spaces in the district of Côte des Neiges North. Like other contributors to this work, she concluded that harmony within these spaces was maintained by the distance that members of different groups kept between them (although young children were an exception).

Second, several other projects carried out under the auspices of the Metropolis Project in Montreal (*Immigration et métropoles: Centre de recherche interuniversitaire de Montréal sur l'immigration, l'intégration et la dynamique urbaine*) also served as inspiration. The Metropolis Project is an international partnership of scholars searching for ways to address the challenges of urban immigration in different national contexts (Metropolis, 1997). Among the many research initiatives and programs implemented by the Metropolis network in Montreal is a long-term program on immigration, neighbourhood life, residential trajectories, social networks, and municipal management (*Volet 2: Vie de quartier, trajectoires résidentielles, réseaux sociaux et gestion des équipements collectifs*). Several studies on the lived reality of multiethnic neighbourhoods and on municipal cultural diversity practices have been carried out as part of this larger research program (refer to Germain *et al*, 2003, for example). In particular, two related

studies take a detailed look at the way long-term residents of two streets in Côte des Neiges North perceive historical environmental and socio-economic change in their neighbourhoods (Barclay Avenue - Blanc and Viannay, 2000, and Mountain Sights Avenue - Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). Both neighbourhoods went through a period of increased violence and degradation in the 1980's only to become more peaceful in the 1990's after concerted effort by local task forces. These studies highlight long-term residents' perceptions of changes to their neighbourhoods since the 1970's, including the quality of their apartment buildings and green spaces. Despite certain differences between respondents on both streets (Mountain Sights is more multiethnic than the section of Barclay that was studied, although residents of both streets are not always all that well-off), most respondents felt that the interventions carried out by actors with the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal* (SHDM), the City of Montreal, local community-based organizations, and residents' associations had been fairly positive. In addition, a portrait of socio-demographic change was elaborated for both neighbourhoods, in which coexistence was generally reported to be harmonious but distant even though some respondents expressed a longing for the "good old days" when residents were more homogeneous in origin.

The research project on which this dissertation is based evolved out of the latter study, since the researcher carried out the study on Mountain Sights Avenue on behalf of the project's director. Based on this experience, the researcher concluded that Mountain Sights would make an ideal site for pursuing a case study on planning practice and process in multiethnic contexts. First of all, it is a highly multiethnic neighbourhood. Second, a significant amount of planning intervention has been carried out there over the past fifteen years, which could provide significant material for a case study on planning practice and process. Third, these interventions have been carried out by a variety of actors (individual residents and residents' associations, community group workers, public authorities) at different levels (grassroots activism, municipal service provision, etc.). This matched up with the raison d'être of the case study, which is to examine perceptions and approaches to planning in a multiethnic environment. Fourth, the researcher already had a good familiarity with the site and had made contact with several residents and community-based actors over the course of the previous project. In fact, sixteen residents interviewed for the previous project on historical transformations agreed to participate in this doctoral case study on planning process, which provided an initial entry into the community. And fifth, the idea of focusing on one particular neighbourhood was interesting because, as Sandercock (2003c: 140) notes, while large scale studies are essential, "there is also

micro-sociological work that needs to be done street by street, neighbourhood by neighbourhood, and across a range of institutions, to stress the importance of the daily negotiations of difference in the 'micro-publics' of the city."

1.5.2 Intent of the Research

This chapter discussed the impact that increasing cultural diversity has had on urban life, as well as on the response of municipal authorities and planning professionals. Variations in the way that municipal authorities and planners have been dealing with these challenges, ranging from nothing at all to the development of inclusive policies and practices, demonstrate the complexity involved in planning and managing the multiethnic urban realm. This doctoral research project will examine this issue at the micro-level, by looking at the way planning for public space and the lived environment in a multiethnic neighbourhood in Montreal is perceived and practised by different actors located at different levels. This will hopefully further understanding of the complexity faced by planning and municipal management in multiethnic contexts, while suggesting ways to help narrow the distance between philosophy and practice.

This doctoral research project will endeavour to respond to four main types of questions that have been highlighted in this chapter.

First of all, despite the work that has been carried out on the challenges to planning posed by competing or different claims and visions of public space in multiethnic cities (refer to Chapter 2 for a more comprehensive analysis), we are still in the dark regarding the way that public space concerns and expectations are expressed and addressed in multiethnic neighbourhoods. Most studies have either examined a single phenomenon (such as places of worship - Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999, or inter-group interactions and spatial use – Germain *et al*, 1995), or else have focused solely on the public space preferences of different ethnic groups for specific services such as park design or recreational activities (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995). The crucial linking of different perceptions and expectations of public space within multiethnic neighbourhoods has not been made, and questions regarding the intersection of different uses and expectations in multiethnic contexts remain. We need to understand this intersection in order to see how different uses, concerns, and expectations might affect, and be affected by, the planning process. This study will thus first attempt to shed some light on the way

that culturally different uses, preferences, expectations, and visions of public space intersect with one another and affect planning decisions.

Second, although municipal decision-makers seem to address cultural diversity in several main ways ('blindness to difference', *ad hoc* responses, inter-group mediation), comparatively little research has looked at the different approaches to planning and expectations of the planning process that exist within the same context. Most studies focus on 'flash points' or controversial cases (Wallace, 1999; Amin, 2002; Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999), or else they examine specific institutional forums (public participation processes or municipal decision-making, for example – Germain *et al*, 2003; Frisken and Wallace, 2000). Given this, how do very different actors actually "do" planning in a multiethnic neighbourhood? What approaches do they favour, and why? What are the difficulties and issues that arise when doing planning in multiethnic contexts? Hopefully, this case study will provide some initial answers to these questions.

Third, the distance between existing municipal multiculturalism/interculturalism policies and actual daily practices has been noted (Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Germain *et al*, 2003). Scholars have also noted the diversity of ways in which municipal officials and planners have been 'dealing with difference', as well as the restrictions that hinder pursuit of a more culturally-aware practice (Frisken and Wallace, 2000). While research in several Canadian cities tends to look at these issues in terms of municipal departmental response, questions on how various public actors go about making decisions in multiethnic contexts in Montreal remain unanswered. Why would they accept or reject difference? What operational constraints on accommodating difference exist? What are their perceptions of the efficacy of their actions? This research project will therefore attempt to shed some light on these issues, albeit from the perspective of a single multiethnic neighbourhood.

And fourth, a wide range of solutions for making planning and municipal policy and practice more responsive and respectful of diversity have been suggested in the literature, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Planners and other municipal officials cannot be expected to practice effectively if they do not have sufficient information on what citizens want and expect from public space and their urban environment. As well, planners lack very specific knowledge on how to carry out equitable planning in culturally diverse contexts. What do "best practices" in heterogeneous social contexts entail? How can planners maintain equity within a 'multiple

publics' perspective? How do political and social realities affect how public actors make decisions regarding the changing needs and concerns of different minority and immigrant communities? And lastly, how do actors at all levels think that planning and municipal management should be operating ideally in multiethnic contexts? Hopefully, this doctoral research project will be able to provide planning and municipal practice in Montreal, and in other cities as well, with at least the beginning of an answer to these very complex and often controversial questions.

1.5.3 Presentation

This dissertation will follow the following format:

Chapter 2 will discuss the issue of public space use, concerns, expectations, and dynamics in multiethnic contexts, and the relevance of focusing this doctoral research project on public space issues will be demonstrated.

In Chapter 3, the debate over how planning should operate and respond in multiethnic contexts will be discussed. This analysis will focus on the way that different (and sometimes competing) currents of thought conceptualize how planning and municipal decision-making should operate in multiethnic contexts. It will also look at the potential impact of these philosophies on municipal management and urban life in general. This discussion will situate this dissertation within the larger theoretical debate taking place in the literature.

Chapter 4 will discuss the research project's methodology, from choice of qualitative methods to data collection and analysis.

In Chapter 5, the case study context will be discussed. This will begin with a profile of socio-demographics and planning efforts in Côte des Neiges, one of Montreal's most multiethnic districts, before zeroing in on the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, located at the northernmost tip of Côte des Neiges.

Research project findings will be presented in Chapters 6 and 7, including interview findings with residents (Chapter 6) and with local community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional actors (Chapter 7). These findings will be divided into four sections: perceptions of public space use, local planning approaches and interventions, the municipal planning process in multiethnic contexts, and the feasibility of doing inclusive planning in culturally diverse contexts.

Chapter 8 will bring these findings together in a comparative analysis of all these different perspectives. This will help provide answers to the four main types of research questions guiding this dissertation.

In Chapter 9, the concluding chapter of this dissertation, the relevance of these research findings for planning and municipal practice and theory in general will be discussed, and recommendations for inclusive planning practice in multiethnic contexts put forward. Lastly, the transferability of many of these conclusions and recommendations to other contexts and to broader socio-political theorizations of cultural diversity and the city will be demonstrated.

CHAPTER 2: PUBLIC SPACE AND THE MULTIETHNIC CONTEXT

Planners, architects, and developers generally begin every project with a statement or survey of user needs, which are then supposedly incorporated into a design programme. It is notoriously difficult to assess a "need" in planning in general, and even more so for public spaces (Lynch and Hack, 1990). In an increasingly multiethnic society, how do we decide what is incorporated into public space and what is left out? Planning is supposed to be the mechanism whose chief social benefit is to help development fit better with its locality and hopefully then with community values. But whose values are we talking about in a multiethnic neighbourhood? Planning theory and policy in multiethnic cities can no longer be separated from the culture and expectations of all residents, and should extend an understanding of the socio-spatial and cultural interactions and influences flowing between urban residents and their public spaces. In this chapter, we will look at the ways that culturally-based public space concerns are generally addressed in planning (including cultural differences in use, preferences, expectations, and visions of public space) before focusing more specifically on public space issues in multiethnic contexts.

2.1 PUBLIC SPACE: A COMMON GROUND?

2.1.1 Diversification of Public Space

While hypothetically access to our homes is reserved for only a select few, exterior to our residence we enter into the public realm, coming into contact with other city dwellers and interacting with them in public space. By definition then, 'public' space generally refers to areas which are accessible to the public. While these have traditionally been defined as outdoor leisure spaces such as squares, plazas, public markets, parks, and gardens, public space can also refer to 'living spaces' or 'passageways' (Allmendinger, 2001). These are spaces that are accessible to the public as part of their function but are not designed as recreational spaces (this includes streets, alleys, vacant lots, spaces between buildings). The term 'public space' means that there is also space that is private. All spaces are owned in a certain fashion: by society, by a municipality, by a company or individual who has acquired rights to the land and the buildings.

The difference is that only certain persons or "members" can access private space (such as the family home, for example).

In between these two polarities are semi-public spaces. Essentially, these are public spaces that are privately owned while being accessible in part to the public. Semi-public spaces can refer to larger spaces such as subway stations, restaurants, and shopping centres, but can also include micro-spaces such as the inner hallways of a building, an elevator or stairwell, a balcony that is shared by all tenants on a particular floor, or the laundry-rooms of an apartment building. All these different types of semi-public space can take on many of the characteristics of public leisure space (in the case of a patio deck accessible by all tenants of an apartment building) or public passageways or transit spaces, which provide access between one modality in space and another (the concourse of a shopping mall or hallways in a building, for example) (Wei, 2003). In fact, semi-public spaces now make up the majority of urban public spaces (Nalbantoglu, 1997). However, while access to semi-public spaces is usually controlled by the owner of the space, open public spaces (such as streets or public parks) are patrollable, but not necessarily controllable.

Notwithstanding the differences between public, semi-public, and private space, the key notion that ties them together is that they are all shared between different users in one respect or another. These are all spaces where life plays out on a daily basis. Stephen Carr (1992: 1) defines public space as: "The common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community together, whether in the normal routines of daily life, or in periodic festivities." Public space is therefore social in character, as Henri Lefebvre argues in *The Production of Space*. It is produced by human action and implies interaction and contact. According to Lefebvre (1974: 101): "The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. [...] Urban space gathers together crowds, products in the market, acts, and symbols."

Public space has traditionally been considered the locus of public life (Elshtain, 1981; Sennett, 1974), although its role as a community gathering place has shifted in North America over the past thirty years. While authors such as Sennett (1994) believe that the declining role of public squares and parks corresponds with the advent of current contemporary social isolation, others argue that this decline is not so much a loss of public life but a transformation in the modalities

of public life (Brill, 1989). This is due in part to postmodern social changes that have led to the proliferation of spaces of consumption, festival spaces, and the privatization of public space (Gottdiener, 1997; Zukin, 1995). It is also due to urban sprawl and suburban expansion in North America (Kaplan, 2000).

Greater socio-cultural diversity means that the type and range of activities taking place in urban public space also increase (Watson and Gibson, 1995). New forms of public space are constantly emerging, sponsored by both the public and private sectors (recreational trails, bike paths, community gardens, pedestrian streets, ethnic festivals, street fairs, landscaped areas in housing developments, downtown courtyards, subway stations, etc.). We also have the growth of a whole new category of "communal activity spaces" or spaces that are shared by specific interest groups (entertainment arcades, cinemas, casinos). None of these are public spaces in the traditional sense of the word, yet they form part of contemporary public life and serve the same social function (Hannigan, 1998).

On the other hand, some scholars and authors argue that in this era of high mobility, multiethnicity, and stressful lifestyles, many people actually prefer public space that is relatively predictable and homogeneous (James, 2000). This is the strain of thought that believes that "people feel more comfortable with their own kind" (Schlesinger, 1992). Increasing immigration from non-European countries and the heightened visibility of immigrants in the city has sometimes led to the withdrawal of wealthier groups from the urban core into gated communities and to the proliferation of restricted spaces accessible only to 'members' of these groups (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998). This Fear of the Other has the negative effect of endowing public spaces in minority areas with a higher "fear-value", even if in reality they are no more dangerous than those in any other part of the city (Nasar and Jones, 1997). This is an extremely important issue that bears consideration in any discussion of public space in multiethnic contexts.

2.1.2 Equal Access to "Shared" Space

If public space is a "common ground", this implies that all people can have access to a given public space and can equally partake in their desired activities within the space. Necessarily, the intersection of individuals in a theoretically accessible space means that social interactions and experiences occurring in public space mirror those taking place in all other facets of urban existence. As Roy (2001: 232) puts it: "There is a wonderful liveliness to these tainted sites, a jostling and elbowing for cultural hegemony." The interaction between people in public space and their ability to use the space as they might desire is often referred to as the "appropriation of space". De Lauwe (1975) shows that appropriation is the repetition of actions within space, the forging of relationships with others, the act of creating itineraries in space. When the act of appropriation is not socially or legally acceptable, this gives rise to a sense of danger or conflict. In this sense, a person may have physical control over a space by virtue of his of her physical presence, but not have social control (Wolfe and Laufer, 1976). It is better perhaps to view appropriation of space as continued reappropriation (Korosec-Serfaty, 1973), because once individuals, groups, and social organizations have appropriated space, it is only natural that they will seek to maintain whatever control or authority they have over it.

The way people perceive and use public space depends on two things: the physical and socio-cultural environment that surrounds them and the internal meanings that space has for them (the psychology of spatial experience). The fact that people project their own personal meanings onto space suggests that part of their identity is wrapped up in how they perceive spatial forms and the actions of others in space. This internalized aspect of space is what Proshansky (1976) calls the "place-identity". This place-identity is subject to constant change over an individual's lifetime, through acquisition of new roles, behaviours, and activities. In other words, while people appropriate space in their own manner and according to the social pressures they feel exist in these spaces, people can also be appropriated by space, since their physical and social settings can have an effect on their inner self. Using this notion in our doctoral research project will help us detect larger patterns in spatial use, expectations, and preferences in a multiethnic neighbourhood, and will also help pinpoint differences in perspective between individuals belonging to established groups and newer immigrant groups.

2.2 ETHNOCULTURAL DIFFERENCE IN PUBLIC SPACE

The sociability function of public space goes unquestioned in almost every design textbook in the field, from urban planning to landscape architecture, along with qualities such as aesthetics and security. Generally speaking, traditional design thinking believes that the way a space is designed and programmed will encourage its proper use by a certain type of user and discourage its improper use by undesirable users (Cooper Marcus and Francis, 1990: 8). For example, neighbourhood parks have usually been designed to encourage use by children and families or to provide a green space for socially correct activities that are determined by the community that "owns" the space in question (Katz, 1994). Uses and activities that fall outside the accepted definition of socially correct are supposed to be controlled either through design, social pressure, or security control.

The interesting thing about most of these texts is that little or no discussion takes place on what is socially correct or not. The tacit assumption is that professionals already know what these things are. On the other hand, most design books have a section on highly undesirable uses: vagrancy, criminal activities, or even the presence of racial minority groups or immigrants (depending on the date of publication). The latter point has actually been rather predominant in design texts up until the advent of postmodernism critique. For example, talking about the siting of neighbourhood parks, Clarence Perry of the Chicago Urban Ecology School once said that: "A certain degree of racial and social homogeneity must be assured among playground patrons or a healthy play-life will not occur" (Perry, 1926: 240). The underlying assumption is that socially acceptable users and uses all come from the same defined ethnocultural and socio-economic group and share the same values, whatever these may be (Rapaport, 1977). In fact, if we look back over design manuals and principles published this century, most recommend that individuals belonging to different classes, races, and ethnocultural backgrounds be kept apart (Thomas, 1998). Postmodern critique takes this to task, arguing that even in a socio-economically static society, individuals of similar ethnic origins can nonetheless have vastly different needs. Therefore, a space's success or failure will be determined partly by how these users interact with one another and with the space itself, and partly by the influence of wider urban social dynamics (Burayidi, 2003; Allmendinger, 2001).

Many scholars and practitioners consider that public spaces "fail" because the needs of their users are not met. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs (1961) criticized the way unvarying rules and standards are applied without regard for cultural, geographic, or user differences, and argued that this results in the social failure of many neighbourhood spaces. Others feel that public spaces such as parks are often underused, particularly by women or the elderly, who sometimes find them "unliveable" (Wekerle, 2000; Day, 1999b; Teo, 1997). Part of the problem is that designers of public space have usually proceeded with the idea that spatial proximity, visibility, and transparency will help urban residents appropriate public space equally, assuming that once people see more of each other, they will develop more egalitarian relationships (Coutras, 1987). In fact, with little attention paid to how individuals view each other and how they might attempt to appropriate space, just the opposite can happen, since proximity and visibility risk stressing difference rather than commonality (Amin, 2002; Forsyth, 2001). Witness the failure of neighbourhood or housing integration projects in some American or British cities (Thomas, 2000; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997).

This distinction is important because studies from the 1980's on try to show that there are important differences between identity groups (women, ethnic minorities, the disabled) in terms of public space design, aesthetics, use, and appropriation (Newell, 1997; Francis, 1988; Kaplan, 1985; Anderson and Schroeder, 1983). Up until recently, most studies have focused on comparing public space needs and wants between people of different ethnocultural backgrounds, as opposed to looking at how individuals in a multiethnic neighbourhood use the same space. The objective of these studies is to show that preferences differ substantially between individuals of different ethnocultural groups (witness studies of African American and Hispanic recreational preferences carried out by Kellert, 1984, and Hutchinson and Fidel, 1984). However, these studies do not show how individuals of different ethnocultural origins interact or use space *within* the same spatial and temporal boundaries, nor do they suggest avenues for policy or planning action. Instead, these studies conclude that the similarities in public space use and preferences between individuals of the same ethnic origin are sufficient enough to warrant tailoring park design to the needs of specific mono-ethnic groups, instead of attempting to create multi-purpose spaces that can serve individuals from a diversity of ethnic origins.

For example, Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) studied four parks situated in four different 'ethnic' neighbourhoods in Los Angeles. Because people residing in different neighbourhoods seemed to have different use preferences, she concluded that it might make more sense to tailor these spaces to the specific preferences of the dominant ethnic group in each neighbourhood. For example, individuals of Hispanic origin use parks for large family reunions, while people of African American descent prefer to use them for sporting activities. On the other hand, people of Caucasian and Chinese descent value aesthetic aspects the most and prefer to use parks for solitary activities. In a similar study, Zhang and Gobster (1998) studied the use and experience of public places among individuals of Chinese descent in Chicago. They concluded that there are definite cultural expectations that cannot be served in mixed-community parks and that the development of ethno-specific community parks is a more appropriate response.

On the other hand, recent cross-cultural studies are beginning to show that the matter is not so cut and dried. For example, two studies on landscape preferences (Yang, 1992, and Newell, 1997) found that while certain preferences could be keyed to an individual's ethnocultural origins, respondents all reported that the same basic issues are most important - security, cleanliness, and positive encounters. These results confirm the findings of Burgess, Harrison, and Limb (1988) in their large survey of user needs in England. The authors report that broad agreement exists between very different individuals (immigrants, lower and upper income users, etc.) on what constitutes a liveable public space. In addition, Husbands and Idahosa (1995) conducted studies on the relationship between ethnicity and recreational behaviour, and found that many preferences are commonly-shared despite the ethnicity of the user. The same is also true for studies on accessibility and use preferences among the disabled and the elderly (Teo, 1997; Butler and Bowlby, 1997).

Similar findings were also generated during Tuttle's (1996) study of public space use and preferences in lower and higher income neighbourhoods. She found that individuals living in higher income areas prefer to use their yards and open spaces around their home (parks, shopping streets, plazas), while residents in lower income areas prefer not to use neighbourhood open spaces, feeling that they are unpleasant and unsafe. While residents of lower income areas use public spaces in higher income neighbourhoods wherever possible, the reverse never happens. Tuttle found that although public spaces are unequally distributed between lower and higher income neighbourhoods and are used differently in each of these contexts, people seemed

to value the same things: clean air, trees, natural landscapes, flowers, safe play-spaces for children, and places to walk, sit, talk, and "connect with the world" in a peaceful way.

Therefore, the findings of these studies are somewhat inconsistent. Some suggest that individuals and different groups use public space in the same way and others disagree, feeling that as society increases in diversity and complexity, the asserted fit between ethnoculturally-based differences, social reality, and the built form is harder to find (Day, 1999a; Friedman, 1997; Alba, 1995). Part of the problem is that most studies looking at user group preferences adopt a rather bounded, or even divisive, definition of the ethnocultural group. This gives the impression that individuals belonging to similar ethnocultural groups have similar use patterns and spatial preferences, and that these groups can therefore be treated as bounded units in terms of public space design and planning. However, as Bourdier and AlSayyad (1989) point out, individuals belonging to the same ethnocultural group will not necessarily have the same beliefs and values, and therefore will not attempt to appropriate and negotiate space in the same manner, a conclusion that seems to increase the complexity of determining public space concerns and preferences in multiethnic contexts.

2.3 PUBLIC SPACE AND IMMIGRATION

2.3.1 Does the Home Culture Immigrate as Well?

On the surface, it seems logical that in order to understand how immigrants perceive and experience public space in their new country, one must first understand how it is conceptualized and used in their home countries. In fact, there are quite a few studies available on public space use and meaning in other countries and regions (Latin America, North Africa, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, China, Japan, Singapore, and India are the most common). To a certain extent these studies are very useful, since they illustrate the type of formal and informal public spaces that prevail in these countries and how they are used. For example, studies looking at North Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia often paint a picture of highly socially stratified public spaces. Parks, public squares, and commercial gathering spaces (cafés, for example) are male preserves. A large variety of more secluded female-friendly spaces exist that allow women to circumvent the restrictions placed on their presence in public (rooftops, marketplaces or commercial strips, enclosed areas in public parks, to name a few), in addition to the provision of family-only areas

in parks, beaches, and even in restaurants (Goodwin, 1995). In all these spaces, the social codes governing behaviour are known, and architecture that works with these codes increases the ability of different groups to access public spaces as they desire (Mazrui, 2001; Fenster, 1999a; Germeraad, 1993; Joardar, 1989). Closer to home, studies on the role of the Central American plaza or market-square emphasize the sociability function of these public spaces (Segovia, 1997; Low, 1997). In most of these studies, the importance and design of market areas is stressed, from the Chinese *lilong* to the Middle Eastern *souk*.

The problem here is that these studies only report on certain aspects of public space in these countries or regions, which is normal considering that they are mostly published reports of project evaluations or academic research. Unless one actually visits these countries or finds a way to experience the full range of public spaces native to these regions, one has no idea of the actual variation or depth that exists. Despite this, studies on preferences that are 'shared' between individuals of the same ethnocultural origin try to demonstrate that these are culturally-determined preferences imported from immigrants' home countries (such as the Chinese preference for highly-landscaped floral gardens – Zhang and Gobster, 1998). On the other hand, other studies have shown that immigrants often reconstruct their conceptions of public space after arriving in their new country (Moghaddam and Taylor, 1989), and may in fact wish to leave many things connected with their home countries behind once they immigrate (Dwyer, 1999).

However, this does not help us understand whether or not:

1. Immigrants have the same culturally-based public space preferences in their new country as they did in their home country;
2. Immigrants wish to see the overall type and use of public space that exists in their home country replicated in their new country (which is fundamentally impossible, given architectural and socio-political differences between countries);
3. Immigrants have any desire at all to replicate specific characteristics of some of their home countries' public spaces in their new country of residence;
4. Immigrants' spatial preferences and behaviours are modified or changed over the course of the immigrant experience or through interaction (or transactions, if one follows the thinking of the Belgian sociologists Remy, 1998, or Grafmeyer, 1999) with public spaces in their country of immigration.

2.3.2 The Role of Public Space in the Immigrant Experience

In multiethnic contexts, public spaces are by definition sites of multiethnic intersection and interaction, assuming that more than one ethnic group is able to access these spaces. Since public spaces are shared by virtue of being public (Elshtain, 1981), they are therefore spaces that can transmit social values through their symbolism, design, and use. This can reinforce the exclusion or marginalization of those "in the minority" from public life if they are isolated from positive interactions with others in public space (Vertovec, 1999). Because they transmit social values and meaning, public spaces then have the ability to teach new immigrants about the social dynamics of their new society. But what is being taught? Public space is often considered to be immigrants' main point of physical contact with the society at large, a point of contact that can be experienced either positively or negatively (Legault and Lafrèniere, 1992). Negative experiences can range from being a victim of discriminatory action to identity crises (Day, 1999a). For example, some studies suggest that certain immigrants (particularly women) experience considerable isolation and culture-shock since the society that they find reflected in public space in their new country is often in confrontation with the values and mentalities with which they were raised (Geadah, 1996; Ardener, 1981).

Over the course of the immigrant integration trajectory, interactions in public space can result in cognitive change as immigrants adapt to their new environment. It is through this spatial contact with the outside world that immigrants obtain jobs and gradually become integrated (Dwyer, 1999). The handful of studies that have looked at the role of public space in the immigrant settlement process have shown that immigrants learn to appropriate public space in their new city in different ways, depending on their culture of origin and on the characteristics of the neighbourhood in question. However, immigrants who settle in host society neighbourhoods do not necessarily have an easier settlement process than those living in more multiethnic neighbourhoods (Dansereau and Bernèche, 2003; Dansereau and Séguin, 1995; Moghaddam and Taylor, 1989). According to most studies, the most important factor is not where immigrants live, but their ability to observe and interact with other individuals, be these other immigrants (especially long-term immigrants) or members of the host society (Dwyer, 1999; Tastsoglou, 1997; Day, 1999a).

Similar studies have tried to extract the variables that influence the integration or incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society. These spatial variables usually refer to access to hierarchically-distributed urban spaces, institutions, and services. In this line of thinking, the intersection of an immigrant's cultural values and beliefs with those of the receiving society can lead to assimilation or else can encourage the immigrant's 'withdrawal' into an ethnic enclave (these studies provide no middle ground between these two extremes). In the case of assimilation, immigrants resist minoritization by adopting the socio-spatial behaviour and attitudes common to more powerful social groups (Davies and Herbert, 1993; Christensen, 1986). In the second case, exposure to different value systems and spatial environments increases the feeling of being excluded from the receiving society. This then encourages withdrawal into the comfort zone of the ethnic enclave, leading immigrants to adopt certain behavioural patterns that reinforce their difference and 'ethnic groupness', and that distinguish them from individuals in the host society (Dwyer, 1999). Therefore, withdrawal into the ethnic enclave happens for reasons of defence (self-protection), avoidance (reducing cultural isolation), preservation (maintaining traditional cultural lifestyles), and resistance (creating a power-base for reaction against discriminatory policies) (Boal, 1996).

The bulk of studies showing how public space affects immigrant integration in Canadian, American, and European cities has focused on female immigrants, and more specifically, on the way immigrant women learn to negotiate urban space in these cities (Day, 1999a). For immigrant women, public space is their main point of physical contact with the wider society and sometimes their only way of learning about their new social environment besides watching television (Legault and Lafrèniere, 1992). These studies show that it is through spatial contact (either formal or informal) with the "outside world" that immigrant women gradually become integrated. On the other hand, formal and informal contact with members of the wider society can provoke a corresponding mental shift that makes it difficult for some immigrant women to retain the distinction between public and private (or male and female) space that often prevails in their country of origin (Day, 1999a; Altman and Churchman, 1994). However, immigrants who find themselves negotiating public space in a very different cultural context do not all necessarily react to this change in the same way. Their reaction depends on their personal value systems, family situations, and experiences at home and abroad (Dwyer, 1999). For example, some female immigrants from Islamic contexts in the Middle East or Asia adopt the veil or some form of *hijab* in their new country (although they did not at home) in order to reinforce their difference,

while others reject it, even though they wore some form of *hijab* in their home country due to the social context (Geadah, 1996)

Therefore, it seems very likely that the different roles and meanings that public space has for immigrants depend on several factors: on their stage in the immigrant settlement process, their experience with this process, their personal feelings regarding public space use and dynamics in their home countries, and the extent to which they internalize the values of their new society. In other words, new arrivals may very well have practices and visions of public space that are very similar to those they held in their home countries. But over time, these perceptions either begin to approach those held by members of the host society, or else exposure to the host society reinforces certain fundamental or non-negotiable cultural beliefs about what is acceptable or not in public. The problem here is that once again, we have very little understanding of how these processes work in general, if indeed these are the processes at work, and even less knowledge about how they operate in multiethnic contexts.

2.3.3 Public Spaces in Multiethnic Contexts

While the literature is filled with model after model of the immigrant settlement process, each one assumes integration into a relatively homogeneous society. As Fortuijn *et al* (1999) suggest, studying the symbolism and lived dynamics of public space in multiethnic neighbourhoods, and by extension, a multiethnic host, may help point the way towards a new model of immigrant settlement - integration into a highly diverse society. This is important, because there is a growing concern in the literature over ethnoculturally-based conflict, and many programs and policies are being drawn up to allay public fears (Amin, 2002; Takahashi, 1998; Ellin, 1997). Unless a way can be found to conceptualize the public space experience in multiethnic contexts on the part of individuals belonging to host, established, and newer groups, we have little way of conceptualizing what objectives a more inclusive planning process should espouse.

This is especially significant considering that studies on modes of interethnic coexistence under multiethnic conditions tend to show contradictory results. Either coexistence is relatively smooth (Germain *et al*, 1995) or else it appears to exacerbate the incidence of conflict (Bollens, 1996). To a certain extent, this seems to be related to the degree of multiethnicity. For example, several studies (Albrow, 1997; Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Germain *et al*, 1995; Dansereau and Séguin,

1995; Rogers, 1995) show that in neighbourhoods where no one ethnocultural group is in the majority, relatively little conflict seems to occur since individuals appear to pursue a strategy of accommodation. On the other hand, in neighbourhoods where one or two ethnic groups dominate, the struggle for dominance in public space sometimes leads to inter-group conflict. The same is also true for indoor semi-public spaces, as Dansereau and Séguin (1995) found in their study of interethnic coexistence in public housing projects located in different Montreal neighbourhoods. There is also the element of individual or 'ethno-national' preferences or fears involved here as well. For example, in a study of integration strategies used by Haitian and Indian immigrant women living in various Montreal neighbourhoods, Moghaddam and Taylor (1989) found that public spaces in host society neighbourhoods played a more positive role in the settlement process for Indian women than for Haitian women. For the former, they provided opportunities to observe how members of the host society do things and to interact with them, while the latter tended to feel the spectre of racial discrimination more in these spaces than in areas where ethno-racial minorities were in the majority. On the other hand, respondents belonging to both groups who lived in multiethnic neighbourhoods reported more diverse social networks and felt less isolated than those living in less diverse neighbourhoods.

Although for some scholars urban diversity equals chaos, enough evidence exists to refute this. Some thinkers on the Far Right, such as Etzioni (1996) or Schlesinger (1992), feel that a growing social polarization and antagonism in North American society comes from a "breakdown of community" that results in part from increasing immigration from non-European countries. The notion of neighbourhood as a place-bounded world where people are connected to one another and share common moral orders, social responsibilities, and value systems despite their individual differences has a long tradition in planning thought, particularly in Anglo-American thinking (Davies and Herbert, 1993; Williams, 1975). Despite the perpetuation of this "anti-immigrant" current, most authors recognize that people coexist very well despite their differences and can have helping relations with their neighbours without necessarily sharing a common moral order (Hiebert, 2002; Healey, 1997: 124). Henri Lefebvre (1974) is therefore correct when he states that the idea of a "common concern" in culturally diverse contexts is better expressed by looking at the strategies and interests people pursue in the context of daily life as opposed to examining their political interests as citizens.

2.3.4 Re-Conceptualizing Public Space: Interactions Along the Fault-Line

Conflict is a by-product of coexistence, and therefore the point of collision or the fault-line between different ways of thinking and doing in public space can challenge more established perspectives. Good public space planning is always supposed to result in spaces that are responsive, democratic, and meaningful. As Carr (1992: 20) relates:

> "When designs are not grounded in social understanding, they may fall back on the relative certainties of geometry, in preference to the apparent vagaries of use and meaning. [...] Public space has a special responsibility to understand and serve the public good."

Although Stephen Carr's work on public space is "the Bible" for public space planning nowadays, he does not question what makes up the public good. Therefore, if public spaces are to respond satisfactorily to the socio-demographic reality of a multiethnic context, ways of addressing these fault-lines must be found.

Sometimes these fault-lines can be very controversial, as studies on the reaction of local residents and municipalities to ethnic places of worship have shown (Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999; Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999). Outright physical conflict between individuals of different ethnocultural origins tends to occur mostly in bi-cultural situations, where one group feels that their vision of public space must prevail over that of another group at all cost. Witness the escalating conflicts over store and street closings on the Sabbath in Jerusalem (Bollens, 1996) or over conflicting national holidays in California (Rogers, 1995). Although these fault-lines can sometimes result in very controversial cases, in many instances the outcome is some sort of compromise between different perspectives because the public space mentalities of both sides have been re-framed (Kaufman and Smith, 1999). When compromise does not occur, it is clear that a return to the prior situation is never possible. As Baum (2000) showed in his study of conflict between various Jewish groups (from Reform to Ultra Orthodox), even if one side comes out "the loser", a transformation has occurred within all groups as a result of the interactions occurring between them.

Studies analyzing the type of public space controversies that can arise when immigrants or ethnocultural "Others" begin to actively appropriate space in a way that alters its appearance and use tend to give the impression that the host society is absorbing new ways of doing with difficulty. In Canadian studies, individuals denouncing ethnoculturally different uses are usually affiliated with the host society and are pitted against individuals belonging to ethnocultural minority groups (Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Isin and Siemiatycki, 1999). The same is also true for studies on Australian, American, British, European, and Israeli cities (Baum, 2000; Thompson, 2000, 2003; Thomas, 2000; Amin, 2002; Forester, 1999b; Yiftachel, 2000; Fenster, 1999a). The problem this portrait poses is that 1. the reactions and perceptions of more established immigrants to newcomers are not so readily available, since this tends to be a politically sensitive subject that many researchers wish to avoid, and 2. if immigrants learn about their host society through transactions occurring in public space, then the host society learns about immigrants in the same way. Unfortunately, we have little understanding about how this process works in multiethnic areas, where the receiving society is composed mainly of people of established immigrant or minority group origin.

In a multiethnic environment, the intersection of newer and more established groups occurs over the force of habit and along these fault-lines. Force of habit means that over time and with exposure, immigrants' visible differences can become more mainstream and more anonymous (in other words, as the 'outsiders' become 'insiders'). The fault-lines are also a medium through which the values and mentalities of one culture are made available to another, not because an individual seeks out new cultural experiences (ethnic restaurants or movies, for example), but because intrinsic notions about what is acceptable or not in public space come into confrontation. Usually, this confrontation occurs between members of the host society and those belonging to a particular immigrant or ethnocultural minority group. In our postcolonial era, this can often take the form of "the colonized talking back to the colonizer" (hooks, 1989).

Force of habit and the existence of fault-lines suggest that the host is as changed by the immigrant as the immigrant is by the host. In the former case, a large number of small appropriations can accrue sufficient weight to have a major transformative impact on local cultures and environmental perceptions over time (Quayle and van der Lieck, 1997). In the latter case, tectonics along the fault-line permanently alter the way urban landscapes are used or the

type of infrastructure that is provided, especially in disadvantaged or minority neighbourhoods (Garber, 2000; Holston, 1998). Therefore, if we are to truly capture the essence of public space in multiethnic contexts, we need to look primarily at the fault-lines where individuals belonging to newer immigrants groups and more established ones intersect.

What is created along these fault-lines? Some call these 'interstitial spaces' (Holston, 1998) or 'micro-publics' (Amin, 2002) where society gradually becomes transformed through mutual contact and interaction. The product of this transformation is an increasingly hybrid society. Homi Bhabha (1990b) first used the term 'hybridity' to argue that the colonizer and the colonial subject do not exist as two exclusive alternatives but as an interconnected unit, since they both become changed over the course of interaction with one another. The point of contact where this mutual interaction occurs is what Bhabha (1990a) calls a "third space", because it produces people who are neither host nor immigrant. Over time, this melds previously separate or distinct cultures into an overall hybridized or creolized culture (Hannerz, 1996). Since multiethnic neighbourhoods are often ones where a constant flow of people in and out occurs, AlSayyad (2001) has a point when he argues that mutability is the most important quality of public space in a culturally diverse context. To a certain extent, this way of conceptualizing space is similar to the postcolonial and postmodern conceptions that gave rise to the City of Difference (Jackson, 1992: 131).

Adopting this way of conceptualizing public space in our doctoral research project will therefore help overcome the barrier to understanding presented by conceptions based solely on the bounded ethnic group or the immigrant settlement process. First of all, this way of conceptualizing space incorporates notions that address different forms of public sociability, the intersection of diverse uses and visions, social integration, and mutability or temporariness versus permanence. Second, it provides a way of understanding how to approach the use of public space in a context where hundreds of different cultures and perspectives are present, because it allows us to look at multiethnic societies from a meta-cultural perspective, above and beyond the idea of the ethnic group. And third, it provides a way of analyzing the fault-lines along which different meanings, perceptions, and uses intersect and interact in a multiethnic context, which will help provide a greater understanding of what these fault-lines mean for public space planning in general.

CHAPTER 3: MULTIETHNICITY AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

While it is tempting to say that there are two opposing ways of thinking about cultural diversity in planning theory and practice, the reality is not so simple. Although the debate over assimilation versus inclusion has been raging since the beginning of the 20th century, the models of immigrant or ethnic group integration and urban management that derive from these debates have been subject to a considerable amount of argument and concern. Above and beyond municipal decision-making and urban planning response, therefore, a higher theoretical level exists that attempts to guide or influence planning practice and municipal policy formation in multiethnic contexts. In this chapter we will discuss the challenges and difficulties facing what many now call an emerging paradigm of multicultural planning (Sandercock, 1998a, 2003a; Thompson, 2003; Qadeer, 1997; Burayidi, 2003) and the questions that this raises for planning practice and municipal management.

3.1 THE POLITICIZATION OF DIFFERENCE: ASSIMILATION, PLURALISM, INCLUSION

Philosophically, the tug-of-war between those who favour assimilation and those who favour inclusion in culturally diverse societies dates back to the turn of the last century, with the rise of 'cultural pluralism'. The term 'pluralism' was originally coined to demonstrate the need for groups within colonial states to adopt the democratic practices and mentalities of their colonial masters (Furnivall, 1948; Smith, 1965). In the United States, assimilationist conceptions of pluralism assumed that since many ethnic minorities will eventually be absorbed into the majority, minority groups can retain their individual cultural differences in private as long as they publicly accept the values held by the majority groups within American society (Akam, 2002). Pluralism was originally a means of controlling heterogeneity, for many thinkers in the early 1900's were concerned about the possible breakdown of community that could result from increasing immigration and internal migration to rapidly expanding industrial cities (Akam, 2002). It was not until the rise of notions of cultural equality in the 1960's that this early notion of liberal pluralism began to take on the form of value pluralism, as it is now known in political theory (Crowder, 2002).

Cultural equality and value pluralism were supposed to give ethnocultural and racial minority groups control over cultural determination and expression while their relations with dominant groups were mediated by social cohesion policies that espoused continued maintenance of a "neutral" set of common values (Galstrom, 2002). Translated into public policy as affirmative action and positive discrimination, these types of programs were developed to increase the access of ethno-racial minorities and women to public and private institutions.

The idea of multiculturalism (the politicization of cultural pluralism) emerged out of this trajectory, for as Charles Taylor (1994) showed in *The Politics of Recognition*, multiculturalism is a way of stipulating the procedural and substantive principles ordering a plural society. As we saw in Chapter 1, the rise of multiculturalism policies is linked intrinsically to awareness of the humanity of Others raised during activist movements in the 1960's (Pieterse, 1996). As well, it is tied in with the appearance of the ideology of cultural distance, the notion that different cultures intersect at certain common nodes (Mackay, 1999; Melzer *et al*, 1998), and the rise of reasonable pluralism and reasonable toleration within the liberal democratic tradition (Freeberg, 2002). In the conceptual framework of multiculturalism, identity is generally conceived as a bond that holds members of a collectivity together (Goldberg, 1995). As a form of identity, cultural difference can also be used to delineate the boundaries of socio-cultural groups, which as identity politics can be used to further the interests of an ethnic group (Taylor, 1994).

Not everyone feels comfortable with the rise of multiculturalism policies. Authors on the Far Right in North America such as Hall and Lindholm (1999), Carter (1998), Etzioni (1996), and Schlesinger (1992) believe that immigration from non-Western countries must be curtailed, or else should be countered with a stated emphasis on Euro-American moral and cultural values. Others feel that immigrants from "non-culturally compatible countries" should be restricted to guest-worker positions in order to supply industry with the labour needed to keep the economy going (Brimelow, 1995). This trajectory is similar to that found in many European countries, where the increasing politicization of more colonial notions of pluralism comes in the wake of resistance to increasing numbers of immigrants from Africa and Asia (Le Gales, 2002; Hargreaves and McKinney, 1997).

The focus on plural identities permeates much of social and democratic liberal thought, beginning with Hannah Arendt (1958), who wrote that plurality is basic to the human condition. Later on, Michel Foucault (1989) argued that our multiple identities are related to the diversity of social practices open to us, which are themselves linked to larger social structures of identity that interact and interweave because they are hybrid. By definition, hybrid identities are the product of the mixing and fusion of cultures (Hannerz, 1992: 67). Homi Bhabha states in *The Location of Culture* (1994: 249) that hybridities are modalities through which multicultural conditions are lived out and renewed, and where the existing values and norms of the majority society are transformed. The notion here of the minority taking back power from the majority is the hallmark of postcolonial theory, developed in the context of political movements giving rise to postcolonial states in much of the developing world (Gandhi, 1998).

This notion has been used to argue that while Western societies are plural and hybrid, their political frameworks deny this reality (AlSayyad, 2004; Said, 2002; Young, 2000). This type of thinking has also been adopted by associationalist thinkers in the new pluralist tradition, spearheaded by Iris Marion Young (1990), who writes that the aim of civic democracy should be a heterogeneous and plural urban public, in order to encourage the interaction of multiple viewpoints and provide a forum for voices which might not otherwise be heard. In this vein of thought, the increasing diversity and fragmentation of many cities worldwide due to the forces of globalization (the growth of transnational businesses, politics, and communities) creates even greater distance between governments and citizens, which further excludes minority groups from public life (Scheirup, 1999; Mingione, 1995). Concerned over these new inequalities, authors such as Hirst (1994), I. M. Young (2000), and Chantal Mouffe (1993) challenge the basic underpinnings of democratic civil society and call for greater recognition of multiple interests and plurality at the state level. This usually means the institution of a new form of participatory democracy based on the idea of a heterogeneous public, which recognizes that urban inhabitants of diverse backgrounds are connected through social relationships of varying intensity. This current of thought has given rise to what is variously called reasonable pluralism and reasonable toleration, in which culturally different concerns should be granted the same weight as the concerns held by any other interest group belonging to the majority society. At the same time, institutional barriers to equality should be redressed in order to ensure that individuals of all

cultural backgrounds have an equal voice within the democratic process (McKinnon and Castiglione, 2003; Weithman, 1999).

All the scholars in the identity politics field are also highly critical of contemporary multiculturalism policies, since they feel that these relegate diversity to the periphery of society while maintaining a homogeneous centre (Jameson, 2002). As Parekh (2000) and Michaelson (1999) argue, this means that true equality within a democratic society cannot exist under any form of multiculturalism. The rise of identity politics and the call for a broadening of the definition of multiculturalism has a dark side, since it also increases the vocalness of those who are opposed. This tension between assimilationism and inclusionism has always been present in North American politics and discourse, and the planning field has not been exempt.

3.2 PLANNING FOR DIFFERENCE: SOCIAL CONTROL AND EMPOWERMENT

By its very nature, planning is a process which intervenes in the way people live with the objective of creating a healthy and safe urban environment (Hodge, 1998). However, intervention in the built environment often leads to intervention in the social construction of the urban environment by default, as planners wish to address, or redress, perceived social ills through the medium of political process and spatial design. This has led to very different planning responses, from social control to the rise of a new body of work based on the notions of cultural equality and democratic liberalism.

Planning thought has debated the notions of homogeneity and heterogeneity from the rise of the Industrial City. Two opposing camps have always tended to square off in one way or another. These camps involve those who adhere to assimilationist or homogenizing concepts of the common good and those who believe that recognition of individual differences should prevail, although questions regarding equity and the arbitration of values arise on both sides.

3.2.1 Planning as a Tool of Social Control

The idea that planning can help improve the living standard of urban residents has often been coupled with the more insidious notion of social control (Fairfield, 1992). As Elizabeth Wilson argues in *The Sphinx in the City* (1981), "healthy environments" are often touted as a remedy for undesirable social problems such as poverty, crime, drunkenness, prostitution, and "loose living". In North America, these social ills were, and are, often thought to be endemic to certain lower income and racial minority groups (Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). This was concretized into planning thought by the Chicago School's urban ecology model, which became the dominant paradigm for conceptualizing cultural and social heterogeneity from the 1920's to the 1960's.

In the concentric zone model (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1926), the spatial distribution of urban populations results from competition for territorial advantage by ethnic or class-based groups. To guard against chaos, the structures of social organization are maintained in order to create social order. This requires that all adopt as their common values those of the socially homogeneous majority group. The authors were torn by a dilemma inherent in their model - the city is man's natural habitat, and yet it appears to have dysfunctional zones where delinquency and crime are common. The presence of so many immigrant and ethnic groups in these dysfunctional zones implies that somehow they themselves are to blame for this dysfunction. The authors concluded that the moral order that prevails in village life due to life-long, intimate relationships is missing in a large immigrant-receiving city. Therefore, cities replace the regulatory effect of village moral order with laws. Because laws need to be internalized and explained, and because individuals are more transitory within a city, social institutions become the primary transmitters of these laws.

Planners were greatly influenced by these ideas, especially those that stressed that "like seeks like" should be the main ordering principle of neighbourhoods. For example, Clarence Perry (1926) and Shelby Harrison (1929) wrote that neighbourhoods and public spaces should be designed to encourage racial and social homogeneity, allowing residents to form social relations with those of similar backgrounds, promoting greater social stability in turn. Under Patrick Abercrombie's model of spatial planning and division of social groups, mixed neighbourhoods were discouraged, as they were felt to cause confusion during the socialization process

(especially for children). This concept fed into the Modernist planning notion that individuals have standardized needs that planning can address through spatial organization based on the demographic weight of the populations involved (Gans, 1961). Indeed, many planners today still go by Le Corbusier's (1968) "modular man" concept. In this line of thinking, if immigrants are also a statistical group, then planning can predict the spatial movement of immigrants throughout the city, including the demands that may arise in areas with high immigrant or ethnic group concentrations. In many respects, these sorts of concepts are still at the heart of municipal planning policy today, even though since the early 1990's some municipalities have been responding to the pressure to respond in a more culturally sensitive way.

3.2.2 Planning as Advocacy and Empowerment of Difference

Rational planning grew out of the search for ways of making public and municipal administrations more effective and efficient through the decision model. Under previous models, citizens were assumed to share common interests and value systems despite any conflicts of interest that might arise, and the planner was the value-neutral facilitator of this natural process. Changing philosophical and socio-economic contexts led Paul Davidoff to declare in "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" (1965) that it is impossible for the planner to be entirely value-free, since planners as people have values. Planners should therefore become value-conscious, openly declaring their values and positions, and making themselves available to like-minded clients, becoming issue-advocates. The consequent development of advocacy planning is the true root of a plural planning process in North American planning thought and practice.

According to Davidoff, a plural public is one composed of competing interest groups. If some of them happen to be ethnoculturally different, then so be it. In this conception, a truly pluralistic planning processes is one where people may start out with very different ideas, but arrive at a decision by eliminating all matters on which they cannot agree. However, critics in the feminist and political economy spheres, such as Spain (1992), Weisman (1992), or Castells (1978, 1996), argue that there are structural bases for unequal distribution of power within society that make this sort of bargaining table a no-win situation for less-powerful groups, and advocacy planning therefore has the duty of helping minority groups become more powerful in the planning process.

The idea that planning can be tailored to the specific needs of diverse social groups is not a new concept in planning - it also existed in the various "alternative lifestyles" movements. For example, Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement arose from the perception that existing systems of government prevent individuals and communities from determining the physical and social conditions of their own existence (Fishman, 1996). One way to overcome this is to form small groups to deal with shared concerns. This concept of citizen-led urban management and community development has been taken up by planners in the empowerment and postcolonial traditions, especially by those working on planning issues in the developing world and those seeking to prove that Euro-American planning has a long tradition of excluding minority groups from the planning process (Friedmann, 1992a; Sandercock, 1998a, 2003a; Greed, 1999, for example).

The main thrust of critical planning thought in North America has been to show how planning has tended to negatively impact ethno-racial minority communities (Thomas, 1998; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997; Jojola, 1998; Li, 2003). For example, after Desegregation was legislated in the United States, residential segregation was reinforced even more and the boundaries of minority "ghettos" consolidated as planners and politicians worked to keep housing projects out of "White" neighbourhoods. These were the times of great freeway and housing construction, and African American "slums" were often razed in the process. This was also the fate of Africville, Canada's oldest and largest Black Canadian community located on the outskirts of Halifax (Clairmont, 1999). Similar research has been done on discriminatory zoning and planning action against Chinese immigrants (Li, 2003; Kayden and Harr, 1989), Mexican and Jewish populations (Romo, 1983), and Native Americans (Jojola, 1998).

Given this context, scholars argue that informal planning actions have been necessary given the historical barriers to inclusion and that they are just as good, if not better, than formal ones (Briassoulis, 1998). More recently, the trend over the past ten years has been to demonstrate that exclusion from the planning process can be overcome through mobilization, even in the absence of political will. In this conception, planning is no longer the profession of city-building but the vocation of community-building at the informal level (Gilroy, 1993; Friedmann, 1998).

3.3 THE NEW PARADIGM OF PLANNING IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS

The literature on multiethnic contexts and urban planning tends to speak of the emergence of a new planning paradigm specifically concerned with the way that planning should operate in contexts of cultural diversity. In general, the two main currents of thought making up this new paradigm pit themselves against a more assimilationist conception of difference. While one current draws from empowerment and postcolonial thinking, the other is an evolution in liberal thinking on democracy and pluralism. Despite differences such as these, there is a great deal of conceptual borrowing between scholars, probably because they all have a common foe. In this section, we will discuss what unites and divides these conceptions before discussing the difficulties and problems inherent in these ideas, especially at the level of municipal management and planning practice.

3.3.1 The City of Difference

This new body of work on planning thinking draws inspiration from models of urban life and political process that are based on liberal democratic thinking and on the City of Difference. The City of Difference, as put forward by I. M. Young (1990) and taken up by Jane M. Jacobs (1996), is based on recognition of the equal standing of ethnocultural and ethno-racial minority groups as participants in the municipal system. Their full participation is hindered because cultural differences cause tension in municipal policy and practice, leading planners and authorities to waver between accepting difference and the desire to subsume it in the public interest (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998). As Sandercock (2000: 15) relates, "culturally diverse cities and regions are a challenge to planning systems, policies and practices, and difference comes to be seen as a problem." Alexander (2001) notes this tension in his study on municipal response to immigration in European and Israeli cities, where cities can have policies that welcome difference but local level practices that negate it, and vice versa. Rejection of difference means that ethnocultural minorities are excluded from representation in the democratic process, at the level of political appointment or in terms of the negative reaction to planning dossiers submitted for consideration by certain ethnocultural or ethno-racial groups (Thompson, 2003: 277).

Overcoming these barriers to full inclusion and participation means several things for the scholars whose thinking makes up this new paradigm of culturally inclusive planning: 1. Proving that minority voices have been excluded from the planning process; 2. Demonstrating that the Modernist planning project is assimilationist and therefore contrary to the needs of postmodern and postcolonial societies; 3. Showing through case studies that communicative and empowerment approaches are the ones that are best suited to an inclusive planning practice; and 4. Suggesting ways in which planning theory and practice can be made more responsive to cultural diversity.

3.3.2 Exclusion of Minority Voices

All of these theories start from the premise that minority voices are absent from the planning process. Those working in the postcolonial and empowerment traditions such as Leonie Sandercock (1998a, 2000, 2003a), Susan Thompson (2000, 2003), John Friedmann (1998, 2002), and Nezar AlSayyad (2001, 2004) argue that official planning practice has long tended to exclude minorities and immigrants from popular thought and scholarly consideration. Revisionist planning historians such as Dolores Hayden (1997) and Christine Boyer (1996) argue that the practice and story of modern planning smoothes over differences and renders minorities invisible because the 'official' story of planning ignores the city-building contributions of women and ethnocultural minorities. As Sandercock (1998) and Briassoulis (1997) argue, understanding "how others plan" is the first step towards developing a more inclusive and flexible planning process in multiethnic cities. The notion of discourse between minority and majority groups is very important in these conceptions.

The notion of paying attention to multiple publics also forms the base for the arguments forwarded by thinkers in the associationalist or new pluralist current. This attention to multiple and minority publics stems almost directly from Davidoff's (1965) insistence that all interest groups should have an equal opportunity to participate in the planning process. Authors such as Patsy Healey (1997), John Forester (2000), Mohammad Qadeer (1997, 1999), Michael Burayidi (2000, 2003), Clara Greed (1999), and Huw Thomas (2000) argue that planning practice, as the preserve of dominant groups in the majority society, has consistently overlooked the needs of minority groups in municipal process and in the design of the urban environment. Urban planners have been slow to respond to minority issues as a result, and much of the initiative for

change now actually comes from the community organizing efforts of minority groups themselves (Thomas, 1995). For these scholars, the public consultation process and the planning approval process are the main venues through which new ways of thinking, valuing, and acting can be constructed by participants, as long as their voices are heard. These findings are echoed in the Ph.D. theses of Wallace (1999) and Gilbert (2001).

3.3.3 The Failure of the Modernist Project

The second common trait shared by scholars in this new paradigm is their fundamental opposition to many features of the Modernist planning tradition, although this does not mean that they reject the tools of rational planning *per se*. The prime argument here is that planning systems deriving from the Modernist project are no longer suitable to our "new age of migrations" (Burayidi, 2000) since they are ill-equipped to deal with social difference and diversity. As Sandercock (2000: 15) suggests, because these frameworks are built around the "values and norms of the dominant culture, this in turn means that planning decisions are usually made through a culturally exclusive, Christian focused and often racist framework". As the Modernist conception was imposed on nations worldwide by planners whose cultural values did not necessarily coincide with those existing in other countries (the construction of Islamabad is perhaps one of the best examples), it has led to an outmoded and ineffective planning practice (Allmendinger, 2001).

Scholars all argue that Modernist planning has erased or sidelined the voices of minorities in city planning by valorizing cultural homogeneity and devalorizing difference. According to many, a truly participatory and inclusive planning process relies more heavily on practical wisdom than on means-to-ends rationality (Sandercock, 1998a; Thompson, 2001), although for others, means-to-ends rationality certainly has its place as a tool for guiding and deciding among alternatives (Healey, 1997). But in general, this new paradigm is more concerned with negotiated outcomes and political action than comprehensive action. This means that it is more people-centered, more accepting of the "appropriate knowledge" held by local communities, and more focused on empowerment planning approaches.

Sandercock summed up the differences between these two ways of conceiving planning in *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century* (2003) and *Towards Cosmopolis* (1998). In her model, multicultural planning ideals are directly opposed to Modernist ideals. These multicultural planning ideals can be summed up as follows:

1. Having a greater reliance on practical wisdom, instead of being mainly concerned with making planning decisions more rational.
2. Putting more emphasis on negotiated, political, and focused planning, as opposed to retaining the idea that comprehensive planning is most effective.
3. Planning knowledge derives from multiple sources, and is situation and context-dependent.
4. Everyone can be a planner. The role of the professional planner is multiple (mediator, expert, advocate), which means that planners should not be considered to be the ultimate repository of planning authority, knowledge, and action.
5. Community-based local planning efforts are more appropriate, as opposed to planning that relies on state-directed futures and top-down processes.
6. Since multiple publics all have different values and needs, planning must work towards the ideals of social justice and a politics of inclusion. Planning must also develop intercultural literacy. This ideal is opposed to the notion that planning operates solely in the public interest (as defined by the host society) and that it is value-neutral.

Other thinkers take a more tempered approach, although they agree with Sandercock in principle. For example, Thompson (2003) believes that a culturally inclusive planner is one who follows 'reflexive practice' (Schon, 1983), where "personal values and prejudices need to be acknowledged, not because they are necessarily 'wrong' but because they exist and influence the way one sees the world and people's behaviour within it" (Thompson, 2003: 290). Most authors writing in the new pluralist vein believe that many of the tools of rational planning are desirable, because they provide the performance-based criteria needed to evaluate outcomes and make suitable decisions (Healey, 1997; Burayidi, 2000; Qadeer, 1997: 493). In this sense, the rejection of existing planning systems by authors in the postcolonial tradition does not occur among those following the new pluralist tradition, although they do believe that Modernist-based planning frameworks need to be modified and brought closer to the communicative planning tradition.

3.3.4 Case Studies of Inclusive Planning Action

Reconsidering the Modernist framework means adopting a more collaborative and communicative planning practice in which the diversity of stakeholders is acknowledged and their access to planning power facilitated (Forester, 1999a). Scholars' arguments mostly turn around analyses of case studies demonstrating ways in which the planning process can be loosened up. This can involve changing planning mentalities, increasing the number of minorities (women, racial, ethnic, and religious) in decision-making positions, and enlarging the public participation forum to make planning more responsive. For example, Thomas (2000) analyzed a series of cases of planning 'successes' and 'failures' in urban contexts with large West Indian or South Asian populations in order to prove that successful outcomes were more numerous in situations where public participation and minority group consultation worked well.

Most scholars show a distinct preference for case studies of oppositional movements in planning (i.e. the community-building traditions of minority communities) that demonstrate that planning by the state is only one side of the story. Case studies often examine planning efforts at the grassroots level designed to either resist development or to improve living conditions by "retaking the neighbourhood". In the first case, community or group mobilization pits a minority group against the planning establishment, as exemplified by the environmental activism of MELA, the Mothers of East Los Angeles, in their fight to keep harmful development out of their neighbourhoods (Pardo, 1990). "Retaking the neighbourhood" is best illustrated by the example of the Community Development Group in Spitalfields (Lo Piccolo, 1997; Jacobs, 1996). London's Spitalfields (of Brick Lane fame) is home to a large Bengali population and to a multitude of other immigrant groups. Faced with increasing urban redevelopment and gentrification, residents reacted by creating the Community Development Group, which encouraged developers and planners to dialogue with the local community. This became a forum in which developers, municipal planners, and residents came to mutual agreements and made negotiated compromises. These cases are used to show that urban planners have been slow to respond to minority issues and that as a result, much of the initiative for change now tends to come from the community organizing efforts of minority groups themselves.

Through all these cases, scholars argue that planners need to adopt a new professional identity. This means working for social transformation on the side of community and minority groups in the advocacy tradition. While some (Amdam, 1997; Leavitt, 1994; Heskin, 1991) believe that the planner must be allied with the community, the majority of thinkers in the multicultural planning paradigm believe that the planner must maintain a certain critical distance in order to mediate between theory and action, community and state, although in some cases the planner crosses back and forth over the boundaries between the two. For all scholars then, adopting a new professional identity means working to dismantle the barriers to full participation and inclusion.

3.3.5 Ways of Making Planning More Inclusive

While planning scholars differ in their recommendations and in the relative weight they place on certain tools or approaches, they all base their suggestions on elements of the communicative tradition. This tradition is rooted in phenomenological interpretations of the relationship of knowledge to action, wherein all forms of knowledge are socially constructed (Shotter, 1993). It recognizes that the social context within which individuals form interests is important, and that these interests and expectations are diverse. Since planning practice is embedded in this network of social relations by virtue of its daily practices, it has the ability to challenge and change these relations through communication (Forester, 1999a). While all of the scholars in this new planning paradigm call for greater reliance on the tools of the collaborative and communicative tradition such as negotiation, consensus-building, and conflict resolution, they differ in the emphasis that they place on community empowerment or collaborative planning approaches.

a) Community empowerment

One group holds fast to the idea that bottom-up empowerment actions are absolutely essential in order to force the planning establishment to action the concerns of the less powerful. This can mean moving towards the idea that planners exist to help local people create their own plans and make their own decisions, acting both as experts and as mediators (Friedmann, 2002). It can also mean finding ways through policy and practice to create forums where developers and municipal authorities work with different communities as equals (Sandercock, 1998a). Another option might be working in Bhabha's "third space" (AlSayyad, 2001), where different cultures learn to communicate with one another through the creation of new participatory instances.

Until quite recently, scholars wrote about tearing down the existing planning system and replacing it with one that is structurally equal and where power is returned to the hands of minority groups. However, some of the most vocal supporters of this "revolution in the making" (Leonie Sandercock and Susan Thompson) have begun backtracking somewhat, admitting that in practice, tearing down the entire structure on which planning is based is probably not all that likely nor even feasible. Their solution now is to encourage the existing framework to adopt certain measures and planning methods that help redress these wrongs in more practical ways (Sandercock, 2000; Thompson, 2003). To a large extent, they are moving closer to the ideas of Healey (1997), Forester (2000), Qadeer (1997), and Burayidi (2003), where collaborative processes temper, rather than completely replace, existing systems.

b) Collaborative processes

The second group would like to see existing planning and municipal frameworks replaced by associationalist ones, where government as it is now known ceases to exist and where local decision-making by groups embedded in an interest network takes on more importance (Baum, 2000). Short of this, authors such as Healey, Qadeer, Thomas, Greed, and Burayidi advocate working within the system to 1. increase the number of minorities employed at decision-making levels, 2. increase the representativity of all interest groups on political forums, and 3. reduce situations of conflict between groups in planning matters.

Scholars in this group focus on public policy development and management systems that perpetuate discrimination and oppression by negating the voices of multiple publics. Conflict resolution plays a major role here, for just as ethnocultural and cultural diversity can enrich a city (look at Jane Jacob's 1961 conception of vibrant neighbourhoods), so can psychological barriers and violence impoverish it (Bollens, 1996). This type of conflictual urban polarization occurs when a strong minority group or groups reject existing social and urban institutions, feeling that power-sharing is impossible (McCarney, 2003). Planning theory in this vein hopes to encourage a repertoire of collective approaches to resolving conflicts through the process of "learning how to collaborate" (Forester, 2000; Susskind, 1996).

As Patsy Healey notes in *Collaborative Planning* (1997), any planning process which involves citizen participation and consensus-building is necessarily multicultural, since it is likely to bring together people with multiple interests and different cultural viewpoints. An inclusive planning process then needs to rely on intercultural communication. As Healey (1997: 68) relates: "Managing our coexistence in shared space matters, for both its substantive agenda, and for its capacity to build practices of intercultural democratic collaboration."

Healey's collaborative planning process has three main components:

1. Planning should use a means-to-ends evaluation while paying greater attention to how people visualize things and undertake their daily activities within this new reference frame. As per Schon (1983), the outcome of this process cannot be identified in advance, because specifying design outcome criteria in advance denies the process of creative invention in response to changed reference frames.

2. Planning responses are invented through collaboration between all interested individuals or stakeholders, who learn collectively about the issues, context, each other, and what they can do. The context may shape what they do, but how they respond will help shape the context.

3. Planning should recognize and reach out to all those with a stake in the situation, otherwise stable and sustainable solutions to spatial dilemmas will not be reached. If stakeholders come from different cultural communities, building consensus in inclusionary ways will be socially and politically demanding, requiring careful attention to cross-cultural communication.

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For all these scholars, however, the only way to make planning more responsive to the needs of diverse publics in the end is to work towards changing the way that planning thinks about diversity. In other words, to replace the current metropolitan model of the city on which policies are made with models that are more inclusive or sensitive to the realities of a multiethnic society (Sandercock, 1998: 203). While for some authors this means reconceptualizing the Multicultural City (Sandercock, 2003a, 2003c; Qadeer, 1997) or doing away with the City of Difference (Fincher, 2001), the idea of moving towards the Hybrid City (AlSayyad, 2001, 2004) is a vein of thought that is only beginning to emerge in the literature. Whatever their differences, what these

particular authors have in common is their critique of policies and programs that are based on current multiculturalism models. Like Parekh (2000), Bannerji (2000a), and Bissoondath (2002), they feel that current models do not go far enough in helping to create a more inclusive policy framework because they retain inter-group separation instead of creating a conceptual framework based on notions of cultural complexity or hybridity.

3.4 THE PROBLEM WITH PLANNING FOR CULTURAL INCLUSIVENESS

In principle, those arguing in favour of a more inclusive or 'multicultural' planning process have the best of intentions, and their approaches make a lot of sense given the current context. But in practice, we must be aware that there are challenges or difficulties inherent in the thinking making up this new paradigm that must be addressed before touting it as a blanket solution to the woes of modern society.

3.4.1 The Complexity of Municipal Management in Multiethnic Contexts

Scholars calling for a more culturally sensitive planning process are not all welcomed with open arms by municipal administrations. In many cases, this rather negative reaction is reported by scholars themselves as a result of their experiences in the field (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Qadeer, 1997). In other cases, this reaction comes in a more roundabout way in the literature, in the writings of authors concerned over questions of the common good and municipal management in a cost-cutting environment (Cars, 2002; Mathur, 2003). Resistance to these theoretical recommendations usually reduces to the same issues: the cost of replacing an existing planning framework, the problem of the public interest, and the reluctance to deal with the complexities of decision-making in culturally diverse situations.

Regarding the first issue, planners and municipal decision-makers are embedded within a planning framework that, in North America and in many other countries, is based on several key notions: the separation of uses, reduction of nuisance, the need to facilitate global economic integration, the need to participate in local and global markets (Harvey, 1996; Castells, 1996), and the need to act in the best interest of all citizens (the public interest). The planning approaches in place now all evolved from the liberal democratic idea that it is up to the individual to participate in the urban economy to the best of his or her ability, and that the only

social role planning assumes is to maintain social order and to facilitate individual participation in the economic and political spheres. Furthermore, the problem of revamping a system that is encoded in law is not an easy one to resolve, for the cost in terms of jurisprudence, time, and public dollars is enormous (Graham, 1998).

The second issue has to do with the lingering belief that the public interest is determined by the majority society, into which different minority groups should assimilate. The notions of liberal pluralism that prevailed at the turn of the century were very similar to this and still persist across the board in North American cities despite the philosophical and political debate over inclusion and difference (Akam, 2002). These are highly contested representations of what is acceptable to society and what is not. The logic guiding notions of assimilationism that hold that what individuals do with their multiple identities is up to them, as long as it does not conflict with economic development or the overriding values of the majority, tends to dominate in many cases (Crowder, 2002; Clausen, 2000; Hall and Lindholm, 1999). In addition, the complexity of treating all individuals and groups demanding particular services and submitting different (and often competing) planning requests in an equitable manner often leads municipal actors to favour a common public interest and 'blindness to difference' (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993).

The third issue has to do with municipal practice in culturally diverse contexts. As we saw previously, municipal administrations already struggling to manage multiple conflicting demands from diverse interest groups often turn back to the homogenizing principles of spatial order in order to make decisions that are supported by precedent and law (McCarney, 2003; Jameson, 2002). To a large extent, even though the world is no longer involved in the Cold War or in the tug-of-war between capitalism and socialism, municipalities still tend to exhibit a deep-rooted suspicion of becoming involved in the "promotion" of foreign cultures (Higham, 2001). As Richard Madsen (2003) reports, this has only become worse in North America since the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre by Al-Qaeda extremists, which has increased the reluctance of many public authorities to be seen as being too soft on "anti-democracy" groups, even if this means making decisions based on racial or ethno-religious stereotypes.

In order to increase the sensitivity of municipal administrations to cultural difference, almost all proponents of 'multicultural' planning recommend increasing the number of individuals of minority origin in the municipal public service. However, quota systems or hiring targets devised under various employment equity programs in Canada and the United States that encourage institutions to set minority group hiring goals equivalent to their percentage in the total population (usually around 25% of new hires) do not always have the desired result. For example, companies sometimes hire possibly unsuitable candidates because they will lose government subsidies if their hiring targets for minority groups (including women) are not met (Cars, 2002). As Germain and Gagnon (2003: 297) note for the case of Montreal, despite these 'hiring targets', only 7.4% of public and municipal service employees are from visible or ethnic minority groups, although ethno-racial minorities make up almost 42% of the total population of Montreal. This type of scenario can be attributed to one of two factors: either these candidates are simply not applying or else they are not being selected because their work experience and mannerisms are perceived as being too different (Hamilton, 2001). Increasing the number of employees of minority origin in the public service is therefore not an easy task. In addition, there is no indication in the literature that this measure will actually increase the sensitivity of the municipal management process, since little work has been done on the attitudes of public servants of minority origin within the government apparatus towards cultural diversity.

There is also a tendency within municipal administrations to attribute increases in culturally-specific demands to new and therefore non-integrated immigrant groups. As the reasoning goes, if these groups are going to integrate over time and their preferences eventually move closer to those of the host society, then there is no point catering to these diverse demands, especially in a downsizing environment (Le Gales, 2002; Hargreaves and McKinney, 1997). The perennial sense of discord between established groups and newer ones, as demonstrated by Elias and Scotson (1965) and in planning by Thomas (2000), is still a very current perspective within which to frame rejection of increasingly diverse planning demands and requests for development permission. Changing attitudes is perhaps one of the hardest tasks to accomplish (Baum, 2000).

In short, if difference appears too much for municipal authorities to handle, rejection is more common than acceptance (Horton, 1995). As Levi-Strauss noted twenty years ago (1985: 24), accepting all these different demands and uses means that decision-makers become different as

well. To remain whole in the face of difference, they must therefore practice "selective deafness". If municipal authorities cannot find a reference point for understanding the nature of these demands, then naturally they will not be able to deal with them (Levine, 2000). In the current climate of municipal mergers in Canada, the ability to deal with a diversity of demands and uses seems to diminish with the degree of centralization, and dealing with social concerns such as cultural diversity is left up to community organizations in the field (Frisken *et al*, 2000).

The perceived unresponsiveness of some municipal authorities to an increasing number of ethno-specific demands may also depend on the extent to which planners and municipal actors adhere to the "theory in practice" school of thought common in planning and management science. This derives from the arguments of Donald Schon (1983), who believes that theory should be made in the context of practice, not beforehand. Therefore, there is no need for planning authorities to waste time learning about the dynamics of social change, because this will be revealed through the interpretive work of planning itself. The tendency to deal with ethno-specific demands on a case-by-case basis or to develop strategies to minimize the number of these cases through zoning changes or re-interpretations of policy is actually a somewhat common response at the municipal level, even in smaller municipalities (Steinmann and Scherer, 2002). This is an important point, because under the new multicultural planning paradigm, devolving power to local instances is considered to be one of the best ways of making authorities more responsive to different demands.

3.4.2 The Dilemma of Having a Western-Centric Focus in a Multiethnic Context

While the planning thinkers making up this new paradigm are in the forefront of a movement to create a more inclusive planning process, they often seem to act as though the idea of 'planning for multiple publics' has never existed prior to the Industrial Revolution. However, the need to plan for multiethnic contexts is neither new nor unique. Despite the label of postcolonialism, many scholars are still stuck in an Enlightenment understanding of what planning for multiple publics really means. Because of this, their arguments may be incomplete and unsustainable under real-life multiethnic conditions if other realities are not also brought into the fold.

To be entirely fair, Sandercock (2003a: 5) does note that:

> "My focus is on western metropolises, [...] rather than on the non-Western world, although I believe these issues are becoming increasingly salient (while still repressed) in countries like Indonesia, China, Singapore, and Malaysia, as well as Japan (which will increasingly have to depend on immigrant labour) and South Africa (which attracts large numbers of immigrants from the rest of the continent)."

The virtual absence of non-European or American models for conceptualizing and dealing with diversity is surprising, however, since many of these planning scholars have worked and written on urbanization in many other contexts. For example, Friedmann (1966) has written on Venezuela and Qadeer (1993b) on Lahore, Pakistan.

The culturally diverse city and municipal attention to diversity has been around for a very long time. While very high rates of religious, ethnic, and social diversity are relatively new phenomena for Western cities, given the increase and diversification in international immigration since the 1970's, this has been a fact of life in many other world cities since before the rise of Constantinople. As Hoerder (2003) shows, in many former colonial cities in Central/South America and Asia, the need to balance competing demands between politically powerful and very diverse socio-cultural groups over the past 500 years has led to very different administrative reactions. One example is the way that different Indian cities have dealt with the hundreds of caste and religious groups that predominated at different points in time. Prior to occupation by the British, Indian city-states often tended to have administrative models that granted a greater amount of self-determination to groups located spatially (in defined neighbourhoods devoted to specific guilds or occupations, or to individuals of similar ethnic backgrounds) and horizontally (caste, ethnic, or occupational groups dispersed over the urban fabric). In other words, a federation of interest groups with certain autonomous powers of political and cultural self-determination linked to a higher decision-making authority (Parekh, 2000). This millet model of cultural diversity administration is also found under certain Arab or Moorish regimes from the 800's up to the European Renaissance (Rehrmann, 2003), as well as under the Ottoman Empire (Parekh, 2000: 205-6). The advent of colonialism in many parts of the world often significantly altered these structures, as European colonial regimes tended to impose a "rule of the majority" that paid only lip-service to inter-group differences in order to maintain a certain social stability (Said, 1993).

It has only been since many of these countries have been granted independence that former modes of dealing with difference have slowly been returning (Post and Baud, 2002). In some cases, difference is still pretty much stamped out. For example, in many Brazilian cities class and race still overtly determine where people live and how easily they can access services and institutions in the public domain (Da Silva, 2000). In other cases, however, the municipal and political structures that are now in place were either non-existent prior to colonization or else have little likeness to pre-existing native urban forms (Post and Baud, 2002). In Trinidad, for example, planning systems have been dealing with the needs of very diverse groups since the late 1800's. Even under British colonial rule, a certain degree of accommodation was maintained between different ethnocultural groups, although certain codes of conduct and settlement were sometimes rather brutally enforced (Williams, 1963). Since Independence, the system appears to be quite inclusive of cultural difference at the local level. 'Hindu' family compounds exist in the centre of many towns. Mosques, temples, churches, and prayer groups coexist with other uses, often in residential areas. Informal planning exists on a very large scale, and in many cases is actually guided by local planning officers or firms (witness the informal sector's retaking of unused land for low-cost housing development - Laughlin, 1989). Of course, conflicts have also arisen over these same uses, and municipal response has varied between consensus-building, 'taking sides', or outright enforcement of existing regulations, such as the razing of certain structures and even whole residential areas (Sweeney, 1993). As is the case for many other countries of the so-called developing world, however, the issue of planning in highly diverse contexts has been debated for more than a century in Trinidad, well before it was an issue in North American or European cities.

The only scholars who deal with these points besides Parekh (2000) are those in the Hybrid Cities tradition (AlSayyad, 2001, 2004, for example) or those working on urban governance in world cities (Douglass and Roberts, 2000; Douglass, 1999; Lim, 2001). Hardly any of the other thinkers in this new paradigm draw any inspiration from planning models that exist, or existed, in "non-Western" or pre-modern cities. Although they do rely on case studies of how municipalities in cities around the world have been including (or excluding) minority groups in the planning process, these cases are all analyzed from an American liberal democratic or European originative point of view. The parallels or differences between the way cultural diversity is approached in a wide range of world cities are not clearly made. For example,

authors such as Sandercock (1998a, 2003a), Douglass and Friedmann (1998), Fincher (2001), and Jacobs (1996) all refer to exactly the same case studies (Porto Alegre in Brazil, Spitalfields in England, for example), but the wealth of other cases available is left out of the picture altogether.

Looking over the writings of scholars in the multicultural planning paradigm, only AlSayyad (2001, 2004) notes that if the great majority of recent immigrants to Western cities come from very different and often highly diverse cultural contexts, then the clue to unlocking the 'multicultural planning puzzle' might lie outside Euro-American planning thought and practice in postcolonial theory and in foreign municipal models. The fact remains that globalization is a two-way street. Just as Western thinking and economic forces extend out across the globe, so do other ways of thinking exert an influence on Western contexts, due in part to immigrant flows (Islam is the fastest growing religion in North America and Europe, for example). There is quite a body of work that has been recently emerging on municipal governance and cultural diversity in cities in China (Logan, 2002; Abramson, Leaf, and Ying, 2002), Turkey (Bartu, 2001), South Africa (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell, 2002), Central and South America (Duhau and Schteingart, 2003), Israel (Forester, 1999b, 2001), Malaysia and Indonesia (Hefner, 2001), Singapore (Lim, 2001, 2003), Japan (Douglass and Roberts, 2000), East Asia (Douglass, 1999), Bangladesh (Islam *et al*, 2003), the Middle East (Shami, 2003), and Sub-Saharan Africa (Swilling *et al*, 2003). In addition, there is quite a large body of literature on comparative urban governance worldwide that is also emerging (Hoerder, 2003; Ricciardelli *et al*, 2003; Post and Baud, 2002; Van Dijk *et al*, 2002), which complements the study of comparative governance under conditions of globalization as spearheaded by Richard Stren (2003). This type of work must be brought into the fold of the new paradigm for culturally inclusive planning, if only to ensure that conceptual frameworks devised and implemented in turn are truly global in outlook, as well as in practice.

3.4.3 'Multicultural' Planning is not Necessarily Democratic or Representative

Democratic liberal pluralism has been used to guide American and Canadian planning theory and practice since the early 1900's (Akam, 2000). It is probably not surprising that scholars working within the new paradigm of multicultural or culturally inclusive planning usually still hold on to the notions of value pluralism encoded in multiculturalism policies, with the exception of Sandercock (2003a, 2003c) and AlSayyad (2001, 2004). These types of notions suggest that homogeneous and unified ethnic communities exist that can be targeted by policy and program development, and that can act together to force the existing planning structure to pay more attention to minority voices. As Qadeer (1997: 492) states:

> "The cultural and racial diversity of populations is raising issues of fairness in fulfilling the social needs of groups according to their preferences and so the planning process is becoming more inclusive by seeking out ethnic communities' participation in public debates."

For Burayidi (2001), Thompson (2000), Qadeer (1997), and Greed (1999), among others, increasing the number of ethnocultural and ethno-racial minorities in the echelons of decision-making authority is a natural way of increasing the sensitivity of public authorities towards various ethnocultural groups.

However, this in itself contradicts the notion of pluralism. Just because more ethno-racial or ethnocultural minorities are hired into municipal management and planning echelons does not mean that these individuals will promote the cause of their 'community' or even be representative of their 'community'. In fact, under the traditional conception of liberal pluralism, these actors are expected to outwardly assume the trappings of the majority society, in speech and in values (McLennan, 1995). We need to clarify exactly how the current debate on cultural diversity in planning differs from previous debates on liberal pluralism in Euro-American planning thought, and whether or not its recent adoption by planning scholars in this new paradigm allows their conceptions to differ substantially in form and function from the liberal debate on value pluralism, reasonable toleration, justice, and equality.

3.4.4 Little Consensus Exists on What the Final "Theory" Looks Like

Because current arguments in favour of more inclusive planning approaches often require extensive societal change and have very long-term goals, it becomes difficult to define what any 'new' theory of culturally inclusive planning may be, and if such an overall theory actually exists that can be translated into actionable policy and practice.

Although all these planning thinkers want to see a more culturally sensitive planning process, their means of obtaining it are rather different and draw from often very disparate sources. For example, Leonie Sandercock has tried to unite North American feminist, advocacy currents, and postcolonial theory together in a model for 'planning for multiple publics' which she calls multicultural planning. While it is easy to see what Sandercock's new model of planning looks like at the level of wider principles (reliance on local knowledge, empowerment approaches, changes to planning mentalities via changes in the curriculum being followed by planning programs in universities and colleges, etc.), in terms of actual practice we have less to go on. The same is also true for models proposed by Healey, Qadeer, Greed, and Burayidi, who emphasize the creation of instances where different interests are negotiated and where minority voices are better represented to authorities. Therefore, we cannot say that these different discourses form a single theory, as they attack the problem from different angles.

On top of this, recent discourse on municipal management in increasingly multiethnic urban centres is beginning to suggest that planning for multiple publics is impossible (Hamilton, 2001). The problem is not from without, but from within, a feature that Senghaas (2002) calls "the clash *within* civilizations". This can range from the difficulty of resolving land use conflicts resulting from the hyper-commodification and symbolic value of property and consumer items in transnational communities to the re-creation of what some have labelled "Third World conditions in First World cities" (Levine, 2000). The preference for more mainstream solutions is sometimes also due to the feeling that giving in to all the demands of diverse ethnocultural groups will lead to a management nightmare (Steinmann and Scherer, 2002). Confront these perspectives with those that call for an impossibly sensitive and collaborative planning process that valorizes diversity above all, and the need to find a middle ground is clear.

3.4.5 The Perceived Rift Between Assimilationism and Inclusionism is too Easily Drawn

Scholars in this new paradigm often give the impression that there is a steadily growing rift between municipal planning systems based on assimilationist conceptions of difference and an increasingly alienated public. For example, Sandercock (1998a: 29) writes that:

> "Over the past two decades we have seen city dwellers up in arms, mobilizing against planners, politicians, and planning processes, demanding that their voices be heard, their concerns taken seriously."

The picture painted here is one of a municipal system that completely overlooks the needs of diverse groups, and bottom-up approaches are therefore needed because they are much more responsive and effective in dealing with cultural diversity.

The problem this poses is that cities often have culturally sensitive policies and programs in certain domains but not in others, as we saw in Chapter 1. This gives the impression that a city is unresponsive to cultural difference, whereas in actual fact its municipal authorities have been trying to develop more appropriate programs in areas where there is greater demand and where such changes are financially and politically possible (Alexander, 2001). In addition, culturally inclusive policies tend to wax and wane depending on the party in power, and are not always sustained over time or encouraged to move beyond the policy stage (Friedmann and Lehrer, 1998; Blommaert and Martiniello, 1996). The other problem, as Ricciardelli *et al* (2002) point out, is that the actual practice of municipal actors often contradicts the planning or policy guidelines in place. In other words, even if a municipality has a policy of not accommodating certain types of difference, local actors who understand the situation will make exceptions that contradict this policy. In addition, different municipalities in the same region or country sometimes take different approaches to the same issue, as Thomas' (2000) study on minorities and planning systems in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland demonstrates. Therefore, it is important that any theory of inclusive planning respects that this highly touted rift is never uniform in application nor in time, and that planning decisions and practices at the local level are often far removed from the reality that exists at the level of municipal policy and discourse.

3.4.6 Little Practical Advice for Municipalities is Offered

It is not clear whether or not the various proposals put forward under these "culturally inclusive" planning approaches are realistic on a formal scale. The recommendations offered by all of these scholars are highly relevant to planning in general – collaborative processes, cross-cultural communication, a local level focus, increasing the number of individuals belonging to minority groups in the planning profession, etc. The problem here is that many authors admit that the approaches they are recommending are time-consuming and often fail to gather political strength. It is fine for Sandercock (1992: 47) to declare that the new planning paradigm is, and always will be, incomplete and vague: "It will always be an unfinished business. Planners must, finally, learn to live with unstable paradigms." However, this does not offer much in the way of practical suggestions for cities that are currently operating under planning and management systems that have been decades and millions of dollars in the making.

The lack of solid and do-able advice for cities on ways of making the municipal planning process more inclusive actually hinders the widespread adoption of these ideas. For example, what are municipal actors supposed to do with the recommendation that they "pay more attention to local voices"? While many authors use case studies on how local associations or groups have 'taken back their neighbourhood' or 'resisted development', merely describing this type of case without pointing out how this example might fit in with an existing municipal planning scheme is not actually all that helpful. Recommending that cities "increase the access of minority groups to public participation processes" (Greed, 1999) is only useful if supporting case studies clearly demonstrate different types of participatory forums in which this goal was reached and where it was not, and whether or not these forums lead to more inclusive practices on the part of municipalities in the long term.

The other problem is that while some of these scholars' recommendations are useful for specific programs (such as hiring campaigns), scholars offer no guidance at all on how most of these recommendations can be inserted into an already-existing municipal management and planning framework. Sandercock (2000) herself realized that it is probably not all that feasible to recommend the complete overhaul of existing systems because they are so entrenched. What she did not emphasize was that municipal systems are also embedded in much larger systems

(regional, provincial, federal, economic, industrial, legal) and changes to one system can have a ripple effect on many other systems. Viewed in this way, what appears to be a small-scale change can actually entail major revision at much higher levels and in many different domains. The existence of this problem is corroborated by McKay, Berry, and McGreal (2003) in their look at non-compliance with planning regulations and enforcement difficulties in culturally diverse contexts.

Lastly, few of these planning scholars state whether or not their new ways of viewing and doing planning are appropriate for all planning situations, or only for certain types of situations. While some do point out that other theories and planning methods are useful for situations such as economic or industrial development, for example, scholars rarely state when inclusive planning measures are absolutely necessary and when they are not. This means that municipal managers and politicians, faced with deciding between very different scenarios, cannot rely on these recommendations when deciding whether or not they should try to address issues of inclusiveness through policy and procedures.

The real significance of these culturally inclusive planning schemes will very likely be found in their ability to complement or act as alternatives to a larger overall planning scheme, and in the determination of what this means in practical terms. The growing body of work being carried out on the dilemma of managing cities in culturally diverse contexts all over the world needs to be brought into the fold of this new paradigm for planning. Part of the problem is that while all this information exists, it has not been brought together to show what the extent and limits of this new paradigm might be. Planning is both utopian and practical, and any theory of inclusive planning must address both these issues if it is to form the base for planning policy and procedural renewal in a world context where municipal planning frameworks are already fairly firmly entrenched.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The research project on which this dissertation is based is a case study of the way planning is approached and carried out in a multiethnic neighbourhood by a variety of different actors located at different levels. To a large extent, this study is exploratory, as it is designed to provide an initial glimpse into the processes involved in planning under conditions of cultural diversity. In turn, these research findings can be used to help nourish the emerging discussion in the literature on planning in culturally diverse contexts.

4.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

This research project examines the issue of planning and ethnocultural minorities, a subject matter that is politically sensitive and involves very personal perceptions. For these reasons, a qualitative strategy is adopted in order to probe these dimensions in sufficient detail through the case study approach, and a grounded theory strategy is used to let theory emerge from the study's findings.

4.1.1 Why is a Qualitative Strategy Most Appropriate?

Choosing a research methodology means choosing the most appropriate way of doing research on social situations. "Methodology" can refer to a theory, framework, and/or analysis of how a research project should operate. In our case, a qualitative methodology was chosen. Qualitative approaches enable researchers to understand the social world they are investigating by focusing on what individual actors say and do in that context (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). In the urban studies field, this refers to what ordinarily and routinely happens in urban settings. Qualitative research recognizes that what goes on in social contexts (the workplace, the neighbourhood, etc.) is made up of complex layers of meanings, interpretations, values, and attitudes. Thus, in order to try and understand the dynamics of the urban environment, we need to take into account the histories, cultures, and ethos of all players, such as residents, planners, managers, institutions, and associations. We also need to attempt to qualify actions, ideas, values, and meanings through the eyes of these actors rather than through our own eyes, inasmuch as this is possible. It is for

this reason that Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 5) call qualitative research the site of multiple methodologies and research practices, a feature that is also found in feminist and postcolonial methodologies (Devault, 1999: 25; Barrett, 1996: 175). Thus, choosing a purely qualitative approach for our research project will help provide a more in-depth understanding of the processes that might contribute towards a culturally inclusive planning process.

4.1.2 The Case Study Approach

This dissertation centres around a case study on public space use and planning process in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, located in Côte des Neiges, Montreal. It explores the perspectives of residents, community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional authorities vis-à-vis local public spaces and the way that planning is done in this multiethnic context.

The case study method is usually the prime choice of researchers seeking to examine some sort of social process in great depth, because it permits the detailed investigation of a real-life context. The result of this investigation can then be related or applied to larger theoretical constructs without remaining solely at the level of description (Gromm, Hammersley, and Foster, 2000). Case studies allow room for exploration, especially in terms of socio-cultural and political groups and systems, because these are contexts that permit discovery over validation of ideas or hypotheses (Ragin and Becker, 1992).

Looking at case studies that have already been conducted in the urban planning field, a great majority focus on planning processes within a single city, such as Friedmann and Lehrer's (1998) case study of Frankfurt, for example, or Hill's (1985) examination of urban renewal programs in Israeli neighbourhoods. There is also a tendency to compare cities within the same country (Logan's 2002 study of several Chinese cities, for example) or to compare cities located in different countries (Post and Baud, 2002). By and large, however, the choice of a case study on a single city is predominant, although this can also include several sub-cases that are then compared for similarities and differences.

The choice of one small-size case (such as a neighbourhood) within a single city is very common in urban planning research and in urban studies, since this single case can illustrate larger principles in a more exhaustive way than may be possible when performing a multi-case comparison. The tradition of the 'neighbourhood study' in planning extends back to proponents of the Chicago School, who often conducted single neighbourhood case studies (refer to Harrison, 1929, or Perry, 1929, for example). The neighbourhood is often considered to be an ideal research territory when questions of community construction, urban lifeways, and social issues or values are under the microscope (Alba, 1995; Herbert and Raine, 1976; Mays, 1964).

This is due to the importance attributed to the neighbourhood over the years as a site of socio-economic relations (for example, refer to Mays' 1964 case study on adolescence and juvenile delinquency in a Liverpool neighbourhood), planning success (Herbert and Raine, 1976), and as a microcosm of the wider urban society, especially under conditions of demographic change (Alba, 1995). As well, it is often selected because it is a controllable geographical unit (Harrison, 1992). The neighbourhood study, either as a single case study or as a comparative study of different neighbourhoods, is common in studies on immigrant integration (Isralowitz, 1992; Pincetl, 1996). It is also common when looking at planning issues in bi-cultural contexts (such as Russell's 1961 study on an interracial neighbourhood in Durban, South Africa) or multiethnic ones (Germain *et al*'s 1995 study of seven multiethnic neighbourhoods in Montreal, for example).

The choice of the neighbourhood case study also draws from a long-standing precedent set by studies addressing situations where residents have mobilized to create an informal planning group that challenges the formal municipal framework. Case studies examining resident-led improvement initiatives worldwide often examine the intersection of informal and formal planning systems within a comparative perspective (Pendergraast, 1997; Twelvetrees, 1996; Morris, 1975). In Canada, the focus on the neighbourhood case study is firmly entrenched in studies of community-led planning endeavours. Witness Elman's (2001) case study of the Durand Neighbourhood Association in Hamilton, Ontario, Gray's (1979) study of public housing policy in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood in Toronto, Simpson's (1999) compilation of case studies of resident-led planning action in the Ottawa region, or Fitzsimmons-Le Cavalier's (1983) exploration of informal community improvement movements in Canada.

Therefore, choosing a single neighbourhood, as opposed to conducting a comparative study of several Montreal neighbourhoods, means that our research questions can be explored in greater detail. Choosing a single neighbourhood also means that the perceptions of different actors are easier to compare, which is very important in terms of process analysis. In our case, we chose the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights in the district of Côte des Neiges as our study site (refer to section 4.3.1 for details).

4.1.3 Choice of Grounded Theory as an Overall Strategy

Grounded theory was pioneered by Glaser and Strauss in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). Grounded theory is a procedure in which theory is developed out of close observation of the world. Unlike formal or abstract theory, developed by deducing hypotheses that are tested against observations, the grounded theory approach argues for inductive theory-building, which means developing theoretical ideas from observations of the data itself. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that grounded theory should i) construct concepts from observation, ii) make comparisons with other linked areas through a process they call the constant comparative method, and iii) should sample theoretically (for example, by sampling critical cases).

One of the major tenets of grounded theory is that multiple perspectives must be systematically sought out during a research project. According to Strauss and Corbin (1994: 280):

> "Perhaps not every actor's perspective can be discovered, or need be, but those of actors who sooner or later are judged to be significantly relevant must be incorporated into the emerging theory. In the language of our contemporaries, multiple voices are attended to, but note that these are also interpreted conceptually by the researcher."

This requires theoretical coding procedures that can connect issues such as class, gender, ethnicity, race, and power to create a "multiplicity of perspectives with patterns and processes of action/interaction that in turn are linked with carefully specified conditions and consequences" (Strauss and Corbin, 1994: 280).

At the end of this type of research project, reciprocal shaping, or the conversation between the researcher and the data at hand, allows the researcher to return the study's findings to the field in the form of a theoretical framework or analysis. This is a process that is pursued through research cycles that revolve around problem identification, data collection, data analysis, problem re-evaluation, frame re-setting (consolidation of learning), and outcome (theory) evaluation.

Adopting a grounded theory research strategy therefore allows us to use our study's findings to help modify the original theorization of the problem that is currently being debated under the emerging paradigm for culturally inclusive planning. It also lets possible avenues for developing a more inclusive planning practice emerge from the study's findings.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The data collected for this research project comes from several sources. Documents, personal interviews, and informal participant observation were all used. This combination of data sources helps ensure that a good understanding of the study site and local planning processes may likely be obtained, and that this information can be linked into larger urban processes and theory.

4.2.1 Document Collection

Document collection involved obtaining information on municipal planning and management policy and procedures, including the treatment of cultural diversity within the municipal apparatus. Information on various research projects and studies carried out at the request of municipal authorities on parks and environmental issues was also obtained. Documents detailing the types of environmental projects and interventions carried out by community-based organizations in the district of Côte des Neiges were also collected. And at the level of our case study site (Mountain Sights), documents pertaining to local planning actions in the neighbourhood were collected, dating back to the 1980's. All this information was synthesized before interviews took place, in order to elaborate interview topics and to determine what questions should be included in the interview schedule.

In addition, socio-economic and demographic statistical data on the populations of Côte des Neiges and our study site was also obtained. In the case of the district of Côte des Neiges, this information was obtained from the City of Montreal, via publications and through the City's demographic atlas of Montreal (Ville de Montréal, 2003), and pertains to both the 1996 and 2001 Canada Census. In the case of Mountain Sights, statistical data was obtained from two sources. Data from the 1996 Canada Census was obtained from the CLSC-Côte des Neiges. This data includes the main census variables for the 3 enumeration districts or *secteurs de dénombrement* (SD's 24047203, 24047204, and 24047205) that covered the territory of our study site at that time. Census information on this sector for the 2001 Canada Census was special-ordered for this project from Statistics Canada by the demographic analyst at INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société. These statistics cover the 4 new dissemination areas or *aires de diffusion* that define our study site (AD's 24660609, 24660610, 24660611, 24660612).

4.2.2 Personal Interviews

Fifty two personal interviews were carried out with residents living in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional authorities. In the case of the latter three respondent types, all have either carried out planning interventions in the study site or else their mandate includes the territory of the study site. Fieldwork details pertaining to these interviews will be discussed shortly.

Interview schedule

These qualitative semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview schedule that was tailored specifically to the following three respondent categories: residents, community group workers, and public authorities. Sample interview schedules are provided in Appendix 1. These interview schedules were developed in order to obtain information on four main topics:

1. **Personal information**

   For residents, personal information was collected on each respondent's age, sex, marital status, number of children, occupation (and that of their spouse, if applicable), level of education, annual income (including annual household income), country of origin, ethnic and

religious group affiliations, and date of immigration to Canada (if applicable). Often these respondents also volunteered information on their personal histories, their families' personal histories, domestic problems, their immigrant trajectory, and much more.

For community group workers and public authorities, only information related to their employment was formally requested (length of time with the organization, job duties, etc.). However, in most cases these respondents also mentioned their age, ethnic origins, and family situation over the course of their interview.

2. **Perceptions of public space**

   This section is devoted to finding out how the person being interviewed perceives different public spaces in the study site. This includes the way that they use and would like to use public space, their feelings on the uses made by others, perceptions of conflict and appropriation, the way that culturally-based perceptions intervene in public space, and their opinion on the concerns or problems that they feel affect public space in this neighbourhood.

3. **Perceptions of local planning approaches and efforts**

   This section is devoted to finding out how study respondents perceive the various planning actions and efforts that have taken place in the neighbourhood. This includes involvement in planning efforts, the outcome of different actions, the perceived success or failure of certain actions, the benefits or difficulties of doing planning in a multiethnic context, and the role of culturally-based perceptions and practices in the local planning process.

4. **Perceptions of the way the formal municipal planning and management framework operates in multiethnic contexts**

   This section looks at wider planning and municipal management issues in multiethnic contexts. This includes the way that informal and formal planning efforts intersect, the receptiveness of public authorities to cultural diversity during their decision-making process and operations, differences and similarities between the visions of different actors, and perceptions of the feasibility of a more inclusive planning process in Montreal (standards and norms, advisability, practical matters, transferability, etc.).

4.2.3 Informal Participant Observation

Participant observation is slightly different from simple observation in terms of ethnographic fieldwork. It assumes that the researcher cannot remain neutral or hidden in a case study context (Spradley, 1980), because his or her presence alters how others will act in the presence of someone whom they know is a researcher (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). In the case study neighbourhood retained for this research project, it was not possible for the researcher to remain "invisible", especially after many months of fieldwork, and so any observation sessions that occurred in public space were necessarily participant observation sessions. A series of informal observation sessions were carried out in public space (the park and the street) at different times of day and during different seasons, as well as during the meetings of local residents' groups. This provided the researcher with a feel for daily activities, spatial utilization patterns, social interactions, group dynamics, as well as the user-composition of different public spaces in the neighbourhood. It also allowed the researcher to better visualize respondents' descriptions and perceptions. These informal and unstructured observation sessions are not reported in the study's findings as formal results, but have allowed the researcher to better describe contexts and situations for the reader.

4.3 FIELDWORK COMPONENTS

Fieldwork for this study was carried out between December 1999 and December 2001. Fieldwork began with document collection, informal participant observation sessions, and the establishment of contacts. Personal interviews were carried out during 2001.

Fieldwork components include the following: site selection, respondent selection (this includes representativity and saturation), reliability and relevance, ethical standards, and fieldwork methods and problems.

4.3.1 Site Selection

The site selected for this case study is the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, located at the northernmost tip of the district of Côte des Neiges, Montreal. Full details and a profile of the site are presented in Chapter 5. In summary, this particular site comprises one residential street (Mountain Sights Avenue between Jean Talon Boulevard and De La Savane Avenue), two alleys, and one neighbourhood park (refer to Figure 5). However, over the course of interviews, it gradually became clear that for the majority of residents, the 'neighbourhood' also includes surrounding areas, including the nearby Industrial Park, commercial services, and transportation arteries (subway stations, major streets and intersections). Be this as it may, our site is particular because it is a residential hamlet of 27 apartment buildings surrounded by industrial and commercial uses, which made it easier to define to respondents and also allows us to focus on specific actions and endeavours. For the intent of the research, we take the former definition of the 'neighbourhood' of Mountain Sights, while indicating where applicable the relevance of the 'surrounding areas'.

This site was felt to make an ideal location for pursuing a case study on planning practice and process in multiethnic contexts for the following reasons.

First, the researcher was quite familiar with this site due to participation in a previous research project on the neighbourhood (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002), as outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.5. This allowed the researcher to develop an appreciation for the socio-economic and planning issues at work through simple observation and informal discussions taking place outside the context of the previous project. The researcher had also made contact with residents and community group workers over the course of the previous project (sixteen residents who were interviewed for the previous project on historical transformations also participated in this one), which helped provide entry into the community.

Second, it is a highly multiethnic neighbourhood. As will be shown in Chapter 5, its socio-demographic composition and built environment echoes that of the larger district of Côte des Neiges in many respects, and so the case study site acts as a "window" through which the soul of a highly multiethnic part of Montreal can be glimpsed. This criterion is probably the most important for this research project, since it examines planning processes in multiethnic contexts.

Third, a significant amount of planning intervention has been carried out in this site over the past fifteen years, which will provide sufficient material for a case study on planning practice and process (please refer to Chapter 5 for details). This ranges from interventions by municipal and public actors (from municipal departments to the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal*), public institutions (the CLSC-Côte des Neiges), community-based organizations, and local residents' associations.

Fourth, these interventions have been carried out by a variety of actors at different levels (grassroots activism, municipal service provision, etc.). This provides the unique opportunity to make comparisons between different grassroots approaches and different institutional approaches. This matches up with the raison d'être of the case study, which is to identify and examine the range of perceptions and approaches to planning in a multiethnic environment.

Fifth, a variety of public spaces and semi-public spaces (both outdoor and indoor) are located in this site. These include outdoor public spaces such as a neighbourhood park, two alleys, and a residential street. They also include what might be called semi-public outdoor spaces, which are owned by an individual or organization but are accessible to the public. These include the lawns of apartment buildings, driveways, the front steps of apartment buildings. We also decided to select a variety of indoor semi-public spaces for study, because these often appeared to be highly used. These include such things as building foyers, hallways, garages, basements, and laundry rooms. All these types of spaces were selected for study because they provide a useful contrast. Therefore, our site includes a range of different types of spaces that could hopefully give us some insight into perceptions of public space management and planning, including the use patterns and preferences that underlie many planning proscriptions.

And sixth, a focus on one particular neighbourhood was deemed to be interesting because it permits an in-depth examination into planning and management actions taking place in one specific site from various perspectives. To a certain degree, this helps eliminate the noise that might arise if more than one site were chosen (in an inter-site comparative perspective, for example). It also helps ensure that all respondents interviewed for this project are talking about the same public spaces and same features of the built or socio-economic environment, which is useful when analyzing and comparing different perceptions and ways of doing.

4.3.2 Respondent Selection, Representativity, and Saturation

In total, 52 respondents were interviewed for this study. These respondents can be divided into two main groups. Group 1 includes 26 residents living in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights. Group 2 is a mixed group of 26 actors who work for local community-based organizations or who are employed by the City of Montreal or various public institutions, and whose territory or field of intervention includes the study site. The total number of respondents (52) was not pre-determined at the outset of the study, as the researcher did not know what kind of information would be obtained, nor how many respondents would be required for saturation. Criteria for respondent selection for each group, as well as issues of representativity and saturation, will be discussed below under the headings for each respondent category.

In terms of respondent selection, these overall categories and sub-categories were chosen for several reasons. We wanted to interview different actors at different levels in order to find out how they perceive planning efforts and interventions in this multiethnic neighbourhood and how their perceptions differ from one another. We wanted to interview a wider range of actors than we actually succeeded in interviewing (residents, community group workers, public authorities). However, as will be discussed in Section 4.4.2 (fieldwork difficulties), it was not possible to obtain interviews with all types of potential respondents (individuals from all the ethnic groups residing in the neighbourhood, building owners, more janitors, local business owners, local clergy, blue collar workers, etc.). From previous research experience in the neighbourhood (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002), we already had a fair idea of who the "major players" in the local planning process were – involved residents and certain local community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional authorities. These particular sub-categories form the core of our sample for these reasons.

Group 1: Residents

Selection

In devising our initial selection categories, we targeted residents first, for the following reasons. Since there are, and have been, at least five different residents' groups on-site that have been active in local planning endeavours since the early 1990's (please refer to Chapter 5 for details), we decided that residents would comprise one major respondent category. In order to have a clear idea of how local planning endeavours have played out in a multiethnic context (as this is one of the goals of this dissertation), we decided to target *all* the residents who had been involved in local planning activities in one form or another. As well, in order to provide a balance of perspectives, we also included non-involved residents and janitors living on-site in this sample.

We did not initially make any attempt to select residents according to their gender or ethnocultural origin, since involvement or non-involvement was deemed to be more important. In addition, there is a large diversity of different ethnic groups in the neighbourhood (refer to Chapter 5), and selecting at least several respondents from all of these groups would mean that our sample would have to include over 100 respondents. Even then, there would be nothing to guarantee that the few respondents selected from each ethnic group would provide answers that might be considered "representative" of the group as a whole. However, during interviews with residents, it became clear that certain ethnic groups were dominating this particular sample, and we belatedly tried to encourage residents of other origins to participate in the study, with little success (again, refer to section 4.4.2 for details).

Description

In total, 26 residents of Mountain Sights Avenue between Jean Talon Boulevard and De La Savane Avenue were interviewed (refer to Figures 4 and 5 for site map). Within this overall group of 'residents', some qualifications need to be made. Five respondents might be called simple residents (people who reside in apartments on Mountain Sights Avenue and who have never been involved in local planning or community activities). Three respondents are janitors who reside in basement apartments on the street (one is a 'simple' resident while two are 'involved' residents). Twenty respondents are involved residents (fourteen are members of local

residents' associations, while six belong to other local groups such as the Women's Group, Janitors' Group, Community Garden Committee, etc.).

Within this group, sixteen respondents participated in a previous study on the perspectives of long-term residents to historical change (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). These sixteen are listed as respondents 1 through 16 in the table provided in Appendix 2. Respondent selection began with these particular residents, as they were already known to the researcher. The remaining residents were selected due to their involvement with various residents' groups or through the snowball effect.

In keeping with the tenets of grounded theory, the only criterion for respondent selection was residency in the neighbourhood. However, attempts were made to find respondents from a diversity of niches – simple residents, involved residents, and/or janitors who reside on-site. No attempt was made to select respondents according to gender, age, race, ethnicity, or immigrant status. However, a certain attempt was made to find respondents who had immigrated to Canada at different points in time, in order to be able to compare the perspectives of established immigrants with those of more recent arrivals. Period of immigration ranges from 1970 to 1998.

This is a very heterogeneous sample. Of the 26 residents interviewed, 23 are women and three are men. Three are Canadian-born and 23 are immigrants. The youngest was 21 at the time of interview, and the eldest was 65. Sixteen are married, four are in common-law relationships, five are divorced, and one is single. All respondents except one have children (four have one child, eight have two children, six have three children, five have four children, and two have five or more). In terms of ethnic origins, four are from the Anglophone West Indies, four are from Haiti, one is from the Hispanophone West Indies, one is from Mexico, two are Black Canadians, one is born in Canada of Indian descent, one is from India, five are from Sri Lanka, two are from Pakistan, three are from Bangladesh, and two are from the Philippines. This is a fairly well educated sample. Two have university degrees, six have college diplomas, thirteen have high school diplomas (two were enrolled in college diploma programs at the time of interview), and five never completed high school (leaving between Grades 8 to 10). Greater detail on these respondents is presented at the start of Chapter 6, and a list of respondents and non-identifying characteristics is provided in Appendix 2. Please note that in the interest of confidentiality, Appendix 2 only provides the following information on each respondent: sex, age, country of

origin, occupation, marital status, year of immigration, and the date of arrival in the neighbourhood. Although details such as participation in residents' associations, education, number of children, etc., are probably of interest to the reader, this information has been withheld due to the small size of the neighbourhood, since this might make respondents too easily identifiable.

Representativity

Due to the heterogeneity of this sample and because selection criteria was based solely on residency in the study site (and period of immigration, for some), this sample cannot be considered to be representative of the local population as a whole. First of all, women outnumber men considerably in this sample. Second, many ethnocultural groups present in the area are not accounted for in this sample. And third, almost two thirds of respondents have been active in local planning efforts, which is not the case for the wider population in the neighbourhood.

This particular sample of residents includes all the residents who have been actively involved in the two local Residents' Associations (with the exception of two previously involved actors who did not reside in the neighbourhood at the time of fieldwork). In this respect, the sample can be considered to be representative of involved residents on the two Residents' Associations.

Saturation

There are 26 residents who were interviewed for this study. This number was not pre-determined at the time of respondent selection, since we did not know how many interviews would be required for saturation. At a certain point (approximately two thirds of the way through) we noticed that exactly the same responses and perspectives kept cropping up between different individuals. At this point, we tried to enlarge the sample in order to include different ethnic groups and more recently arrived immigrants, with little success (again, refer to section 4.4.2). However, due to the similarity between the perspectives of different respondents, we decided to curtail interviews after the 26^{th} since the saturation point appeared to have been reached (it seemed unlikely that any new information would be collected, even with further interviews).

Group 2: Community group workers and public authorities

Overall selection process

With respect to community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional authorities, we decided to select respondents in these particular sub-categories due to the fact that many actors in these domains have been, and are, active in planning and public space management activities in our case study site. Since we wanted to look at the perspective of all actors "doing planning" in Mountain Sights, selecting respondents from these categories meant that we would be able to achieve this goal, since the vast majority of those selected were familiar with the context through their involvement in local planning endeavours.

As with residents, we began by selecting respondents in these groups whom we knew were active in local planning efforts. We also decided to select respondents whose departments or organizations were responsible for different aspects of environmental planning or management in the neighbourhood, but who were not necessarily involved in local planning actions *per se*. This would hopefully provide us with the perspective of those who are involved and non-involved (like our sample of residents).

Respondent selection within these particular sub-categories was therefore based solely on one criterion. Respondents had to be mandated to work or intervene on issues affecting the socio-economic or physical environment of the study site. This could mean either that the study site fell into their mandated territory or that they had been carrying out certain actions or projects in the area. In the case of actors with community-based organizations, only those who were situated in Côte des Neiges and who had carried out work in the neighbourhood were selected for interview. In the case of actors with the City of Montreal and with public institutions, only actors whose territory of intervention included the study site were selected.

These selection criteria restricted the number of potential respondents who could be interviewed. Many were already known to the researcher, either through contacts made over the course of several previous research projects (including the one on Mountain Sights) or through hearsay. Others were referred to the researcher by respondents who had already been interviewed. Please refer to Appendix 3 for a list of these respondents. In the interest of confidentiality, please note

that respondents' places of work and specific fields of intervention are only mentioned in very general terms, since many of these respondents are fairly well known in the area.

As with residents, the final number of respondents selected for interview was not pre-determined. However, at a certain point, we quite simply ran out of potential respondents in these categories to interview (with the exception of blue-collar workers and political figures – see section 4.4.2). In addition, the same perspectives kept cropping up during these interviews. It was therefore determined that the **saturation point** was reached for most Group 2 sub-categories, since further interviews (had these been possible) would probably not lead to any new information.

Description, representativity, and saturation

The second group of 26 respondents is composed of outside actors (non-residents) whose territory of intervention includes the study site or who have carried out some form of planning work in the neighbourhood. This is a very heterogeneous group of respondents, since these 26 respondents work for 21 different municipal departments, public institutions, and community-based organizations. The following sub-sections will provide a profile of each of these three respondent sub-categories and will discuss the issues of representativity and saturation for each sub-category.

a) community group workers

Eight respondents with local community-based organizations were interviewed (this includes non-profit sector-based organizations as well as ethnocultural associations). Each one of these respondents works for an organization that has been involved in environmental improvement efforts in the neighbourhood. Some have been instrumental in helping to establish local residents' groups and planning committees, some help run the local community centre, and others have collaborated with various actors on specific actions at particular points in time. More specifically, three work or have worked out of the local community centre, one is a social worker for a residents' association in a nearby neighbourhood who has also worked in the study site, three work for local housing organizations, and one for a local ethnocultural association.

Four respondents are women and four are men. While five respondents are of French or English Canadian descent, three are immigrants. These respondents range in age from their 20's to their 60's. All of them are bilingual (English and French), and four speak a third language.

Once these respondents were interviewed, there only remained two actors with local non-profit organizations who might have been interesting to interview for this project, but who declined to participate due to time constraints or for other reasons. In four other cases, we wished to interview actors who formerly worked in the area (social workers, field workers) but were not able to get contact information for these people.

We cannot consider that these eight respondents working for very different organizations are **representative** of the non-profit sector in Côte des Neiges in general, nor that they are representative of other actors within their own organizations. However, the majority of these respondents have similar opinions and perspectives regarding the same events and issues, which leads us to consider that interviews with other actors (the ones who declined to participate) would not yield any new information. For the intent of this research project, we can therefore consider that **saturation** has been obtained for this respondent sub-category for these reasons.

b) municipal authorities

Twelve respondents work for the City of Montreal. These respondents hold positions ranging from departmental director to field officer. They all work for departments or divisions that are responsible for planning, environmental management, parks, sports and recreation, cultural diversity management, or communications. At the time of their interview, half worked out of centralized offices located in the downtown core or near City Hall in Old Montreal, while the other half worked out of regional offices located in Côte des Neiges or Notre Dame de Grâce. In several cases, more than one respondent with the same office or division was interviewed. In these cases, the first person interviewed was the director and the second was the field officer or planner for the Côte des Neiges North area.

Of these respondents, seven are men and five are women. All except one are of French or English Canadian descent. They range in age from their 20's to their 50's, and have occupied their positions or worked for the City of Montreal for between two to thirty eight years. Seven are functionally bilingual (French and English), while five are only comfortable in French.

Once these 12 respondents were interviewed, there were no municipal authorities remaining who met the criterion of "mandated to intervene in the study site". However, this does not mean that these respondents are **representative** of other employees with the City of Montreal or that their views reflect those of others in their department or division. Despite this, the same perspectives and opinions kept coming up, which leads us to believe that little new information would be collected if additional interviews were carried out. On the other hand, we were not able to obtain interviews with blue-collar workers (parks maintenance crews, public works maintenance crews, etc.) or with municipal contractors (garbage contractors, architectural firms, for example). Therefore, we determined that the **saturation point** was reached at this point for white-collar workers but not for blue-collar workers or contractors.

c) public institutional authorities

The last group of six respondents is composed of actors who work for different public organizations or institutions (the CLSC public health network, the community police, a para-municipal housing agency) or who hold elected positions. The main characteristic uniting all of these diverse respondents is their direct intervention in environmental or housing issues in the study site. More importantly, all of these respondents have been involved in local planning endeavours and have worked with local residents' groups. Three are directors or section heads of their organization, two are field workers or officers, and one is an elected official.

Four of these respondents work out of offices or institutions based in or near Côte des Neiges North, while two are based out of downtown offices. Two are women and four are men. Five are of French Canadian descent, while one is of Eastern European heritage. They range in age from their 20's to their 50's. Five have been with their respective organizations for over fifteen years and one for two years. Two are fluently bilingual, while the remaining four can get by in English if required.

Theoretically, it would have been interesting to interview other actors of this genre (with large funding organizations, for example, or other elected officials). It would also have been useful to interview actors in other unrelated sectors, such as local property owners, local clergy, local business owners, etc. However, as will be discussed shortly, all these types of actors who were solicited for interview refused to participate. Therefore, this particular sub-category is incomplete in terms of the range of potential respondents, who would all have been able to provide very interesting perspectives.

It goes without saying that these six respondents cannot be considered to be **representative** of the public institutional sector, nor even of their own institutions. However, despite their heterogeneity, their responses are treated within one sub-category for two reasons. First, they all work "in the public service", and second, due to reasons of confidentiality it seemed inappropriate to single out particular sub-categories. Regarding the latter issue, we wished to interview several political figures who had been involved in some way in our study site. However, fieldwork took place during a sensitive political climate - this was the transition period to the newly-formed mega-city and the period of election campaigning for positions within the new mega-city. Most political figures were unapproachable and we are lucky to have obtained the participation of one. Although this person is not a 'public service employee', we are treating this person's responses within this category. This particular interview was conducted under the assurance of complete anonymity and with the condition that no identifying features be made public. To treat this respondent in a separate sub-category (politicians or elected officials, for example) would be contrary to the interest of confidentiality.

The sub-category of 'public institutional authorities' is the only one for which **saturation** was not reached. As we mentioned previously, there are many actors in this sub-category, or in a 'commercial' sub-category, who should have been interviewed but who declined to participate or were unapproachable. If fieldwork had lasted another year, perhaps these people would have agreed to participate. As it stands, however, the perspectives of these six respondents are very similar, which allows us to at least compare their responses with those of respondents in other categories.

In closing, it is important to note that respondents in all categories and sub-categories are very heterogeneous, despite the similarities between them. Any differences that arise between respondents within the same category or sub-category will be highlighted during the presentation of results.

4.3.3 Reliability and Relevance

The purpose of these in-depth qualitative interviews was to understand the visions that actors at different levels and with different organizations have of public space use and planning efforts in a highly multiethnic context. Interviews provided a large degree of insight into the methods and constraints faced by different actors in such a context, and in fact, that was their only goal. The respondent sample was not meant to be exhaustive nor faithfully representative of the various ethnocultural or other identity groups located in the case study neighbourhood, nor of actors in the non-profit or public sectors in general.

In the case of respondents in Group 2 (community group workers and public authorities), most were very clear that the information they are providing is based on their own personal feelings and that they are not speaking on behalf of their department or organization. However, although actors within each group may differ in terms of personal philosophy, their comments are often similar enough to allow us to put together a comprehensive portrait of how actors in these sectors currently envision planning within a multiethnic context. Although interviews with municipal authorities took place prior to the institution of the new Montreal mega-city in January 2002, transition to the new mega-city has not occurred rapidly (union contract negotiations have stalled and departmental responsibilities have not been modified much). The only exception has been the formation of borough councils and the decentralization of the urban planning division. However, the same respondents still occupy the same positions and have similar mandates as of the present time. This means that the information provided during these interviews is still relevant under the current municipal context, despite these larger administrative changes.

The issues related to the reliability and relevance of our interview findings are similar with respect to respondents in Group 1 (residents of Mountain Sights). As we noted earlier, this sample is not statistically representative of the local population. Since the total population of the neighbourhood is 2,524 (according to the 2001 Canada Census), a sample of 26 respondents cannot aspire to be representative of all interests and groups in the area. In addition, this sample is also preponderantly composed of residents of South Asian, Filipino, Haitian, and West Indian descent. While South Asians form the largest ethno-regional group on the street, East Asians form the second and Eastern Europeans the third (refer to Chapter 5 for details). However, none of the residents interviewed for this study are of East Asian or Eastern European descent (Filipinas in this study consider themselves to be South Asian, not East Asian or Polynesian). The goal of interviewing local residents was simply to obtain the range of perspectives regarding the patterns and processes underlying public space use and planning, and not to explore the variations between individuals belonging to every single ethnocultural group in the study site. Nonetheless, this restricted sample of residents is still very informative since two thirds are people who have first hand knowledge of local planning efforts, while one third have never been involved, which provides another perspective.

Most importantly, the same perspectives and patterns crop up time after time between different respondents belonging to different categories and sub-categories. This allows us to make comparisons based on these patterns, and to extract additional information on the factors underlying certain perspectives besides residency in the neighbourhood, official position, or ethnicity. Despite the heterogeneity of respondents, this is therefore what makes the sample cohesive and our interview findings reliable.

4.4 FIELDWORK METHODS

The fieldwork methods and issues that will be discussed in this section involve the way that data collection was carried out on-site and the fieldwork difficulties that were encountered.

4.4.1 On-Site Data Collection

Data collection centers around personal interviews. With regards to the interview process, interviews with residents were conducted either in the resident's home or at the Mountain Sights Community Centre (the Community Centre loaned the researcher an office for this purpose). Interviews with community group workers and public authorities took place at their office or place of work. Interviews lasted from between one to four hours, depending on the respondent, with most lasting from two to three hours. Interviews were all tape-recorded and faithfully transcribed.

4.4.2 Fieldwork Difficulties Encountered

The problems inherent in doing anthropological fieldwork in "closed" communities are well-known. Closed communities are those that are difficult for outsiders to penetrate, either due to the isolation of the community, suspicion of strangers, or differences in culture and language (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 80-81). Fieldwork problems in such communities can range from the difficulties involved in finding the "right" respondents, obtaining the confidence of local peoples, overcoming stereotypes, extracting useful information, and the length of time this type of fieldwork takes. For one of the best discussions on this subject, refer to Clifford Geertz's *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973). In addition, collecting and interpreting data in social contexts involving very different ethnocultural or racial groups can pose problems of cultural communication and accessibility for both the researcher and the research subject (Devault, 1999). All of these problems cropped up over the course of fieldwork for this study.

The first major problem involved obtaining the confidence of respondents and getting people to agree to be interviewed. Many respondents with the City of Montreal and local public institutions went well out of their way to provide the information needed, often following-up with more information several times after their interview was over. However, respondents with community-based organizations were not always easy to get in touch with because many actors work in the field and keep odd hours. The length of time involved in obtaining an interview with these respondents was sometimes a problem. In addition, the participation of several potential respondents with community-based organizations was not obtained, due to lack of time or to suspicion regarding the intent of the interview.

Refusal rates were very high among residents approached for this study. While 26 residents agreed to be interviewed for this project, 34 refused (this includes 6 janitors residing on-site, 17 male residents, and 11 female residents). Very few of these potential respondents actually said "no". Instead, they either did not return phone calls or else were so reluctant to be interviewed that the matter was dropped. Others agreed to an interview but then were repeatedly not at home at the time of their interview. Reasons for outright refusal ranged from career demands (shift work, long hours) to lack of time and interest (this was especially true in the case of men). Women often refused because they felt that their English or French was not good enough, they had too much work to do at home, their husbands would not approve, or because they were having problems juggling work and child-care. In terms of ethnocultural origins, all the East Asian residents contacted for an interview refused to participate. With respect to certain other ethnocultural groups (Eastern European, Middle Eastern, African), contacts were made too late in the study to be included. Again, this brings up the problem of the length of time needed to make contacts and develop confidences in "closed" contexts.

At one point in the study, attempts were made interview local building owners, businesspeople, and actors affiliated with local places of worship. Unfortunately, these potential respondents were extremely difficult to get in contact with, and many refused to be interviewed, either outright or by never returning follow-up phone calls. Again, the length of time involved in making contacts and building confidences had a definite impact on our fieldwork, especially since it had to be completed within a set time period.

The second main problem involved the difficulties inherent in doing ethnographic research among different ethnocultural or immigrant groups, an issue noted by other researchers (Devault, 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Geertz, 1973), mainly due to the problem of communicating across cultures and across "patois". In this case, residents interviewed for the study come from very different parts of the world, and for many, English or French is not their first language. In addition, even when residents come from contexts where English or French is spoken, the dialect used is often different from Standard Canadian English or French. This is reflected in many of the excerpts from residents' interviews that are presented in Chapter 6.

The issue of the "formal interview" also posed certain problems during interviews with residents. Some were rather uncomfortable with the idea of responding to specific questions. For these particular interviews, the interview schedule was put away and a more "conversational" interview was conducted. In other cases, some residents were reluctant to have their interview tape-recorded at first, although most ended up telling the researcher to "just put that thing on" after watching her scribbling down notes at the same time. These types of difficulties are to be expected when working in a local setting, and can be overcome by "listening to the context" (Geertz, 1973).

4.5 ETHICAL STANDARDS

This doctoral dissertation is based on a research project that involves human subjects and touches on issues that are politically sensitive. Therefore, over the course of interviews and other forms of data collection, the guidelines established by the academic research community regarding ethical standards were adhered to. Respondents' identities and identifying features have been hidden as much as possible. Respondents were fully informed as to the nature and objectives of the study, and all interviews were tape-recorded in order to ensure verifiability. Respondents were informed that their privacy and confidentiality is assured, and that they might withdraw from the study at any time. They were all provided with a copy of the interview schedule, which included an outline of the research project, as well as the researcher's name, institutional affiliation, address, and contact phone number.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative research, particularly research conducted using a grounded theory approach, tends to spread out data collection and analysis over the life of the study. This permits adjustments to data collection methods (interview schedules, sites, observation techniques) to be made, which allows the researcher to better understand the situation. This requires an iterative analytical procedure (a series of question and answer cycles). Once a theme, hypothesis, or pattern is identified, then the next research step is to try and confirm the validity of this impression, which then sets off a new cycle. To manage these informative cycles, the researcher proceeds on a case-by-case basis in a local setting until it becomes possible to begin making comparisons between cases. This procedure is called pattern-finding (Strauss, 1987), and was the procedure followed over the course of this study.

4.6.1 Document Analysis

For document analysis, a macro-textual or narrative analysis was used, as opposed to content analysis, since content analysis alone makes it difficult to capture the context surrounding a written text. Narrative analysis works best when looking for perceptual patterns within socio-cultural groups or contexts and how social relations between them are constructed. In narrative analysis, texts are seen as a means of symbolic action, a way to frame a situation, define it, give it meaning, and mobilize the desired responses (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1998).

4.6.2 Interview Data Analysis

Analysis of interview data began with a "within-case" analysis (vertical analysis) and moved on to a cross-case analysis (horizontal analysis). Horizontal analysis began with variable-oriented strategies (finding themes that cut across cases) and then moved on to case-oriented strategies, a procedure which involved comparing each case to the original conceptual framework and letting patterns emerge, forming 'families' or pattern clusters. These approaches appeared to be more compatible with a grounded theory research strategy than would data analysis using meta-matrices, because they allowed a more inclusive and flexible planning framework to emerge from the analysis.

4.7 TREATMENT AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

The way that data has been presented and treated in this doctoral research project will be discussed in terms of data deriving from document analysis, analysis of interview findings, statistics obtained from the 1996 and the 2001 Canada Census, nomenclature, and translations.

4.7.1 Research Findings

Research findings are presented in Chapters 5 through 7. In Chapter 5, findings emerging from the analysis of documents (planning documents, meeting notes, previous studies) are presented through the use of rich or thick description, which allows findings from different documentary sources to be combined. This same procedure is used in Chapters 6 and 7, where interview findings are presented. Interview findings for the first group of respondents (residents) are presented in Chapter 6, and those for the second group (community group workers and public authorities) in Chapter 7. While technically there are four respondent sub-categories in this study (residents, community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional authorities), the interview findings for respondents in Group 2 are cohesive enough to merit treatment within the same chapter. In all cases, the differences and similarities between respondents' perceptions within the same category or sub-category will be pointed out.

Interview findings in Chapters 6 and 7 are presented according to standard ethnographic and rich description traditions for presenting qualitative data. This involves a description of general patterns found during vertical and horizontal analysis within each of the two main respondent groups, followed by interview excerpts supporting these descriptions. In the case of this research project, the amount of data obtained is slightly overwhelming, and so a selection had to be made. Only information deemed most useful to the overall objectives of the project made the cut. Nonetheless, there is a considerable volume of information that still merits exposure. These findings will be disseminated in the form of academic articles and presentations at a later date.

It bears note at this point that the focus of our research project differs from the focus of several other research projects that have been conducted on public space issues in multiethnic neighbourhoods in Montreal. For example, Germain *et al* (1995) examined interethnic

coexistence in public spaces in seven different neighbourhoods, of which Côte des Neiges North was one. While we do touch on interethnic coexistence in this study, in addition to some of the public space use patterns noted by the contributors to Germain *et al* (1995), this question only form a small part of our study on perceptions of the public space planning and management process. In addition, our focus also differs from that of Sweeney and Blanc's (2000) study on the perceptions of long-term residents to historical socio-economic and environmental change in Mountain Sights. This aspect does not form part of our study, although the findings of Sweeney and Blanc (2000) will provide us with useful background information on our study site (presented in section 5.2 of Chapter 5).

The other issue involves respondent answer-group specifications. In more quantitative studies, consecutive tables detailing the exact number of respondents who answer "yes" or "no" are presented and commented upon. This method of presentation is also used in qualitative studies to show how many respondents answer in a particular way. In our case, however, several constraints prevent the use of tabular forms of data presentation. First of all, the diversity of respondents coupled with a large amount of qualitative interview data work against a tabular presentation of results. Second, this is a purely qualitative study based entirely on perceptions and personal experience, for which a large amount of detailed information was required in order to reach the point where directions for a new model for planning practice could emerge. Therefore, the decision was made to present interview findings in the form of patterns and groupings, rather than in tables, in order to demonstrate larger trends in respondents' narratives and to make cross-case analysis more effective.

In Chapter 8, comparative analysis of the interview findings for all 52 respondents will be presented and discussed. This comparative analysis will highlight the differences or similarities between individuals or larger respondent categories and will explain or discuss them where necessary. In this chapter, qualitative reflection is used to underline any connection between our interview findings and current thinking on cultural diversity in the planning process.

4.7.2 Statistical Data

The sources of statistical data obtained from the 1996 and 2001 Canada Census for the district of Côte des Neiges and for the study site have already been discussed. This information is presented in Chapter 5 in the form of tables and accompanied by commentary. This statistical data is not used for analytical purposes nor to support the conclusions of this study. It is merely provided in order to illustrate the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the populations of both sectors.

The main census variables are used in all cases (these include sex, age, household size, ethnic origin, racial affiliation, education, occupation, income, maternal language, and even variables regarding housing type, annual rent, etc.). In addition, some variables were not included in the 1996 Canada Census and only appear in the 2001 Canada Census (these will be indicated). In the case of census data on Côte des Neiges, this data has already been analyzed and disseminated by the City of Montreal, and is available in the City's demographic atlas (Ville de Montréal, 2003). Regarding census data for Mountain Sights, 1996 census data was analyzed and transmitted to the researcher by the CLSC-Côte des Neiges, and 2001 census data was obtained and treated by the demographic analyst at INRS-UCS. For these reasons, the exact numerical code for each census variable is not available and will not be provided.

Although some census data for Côte des Neiges is presented according to planning sector, it has not been broken down by enumeration or dissemination area (*secteurs de dénombrement* in 1996 and *aires de diffusion* in 2001), as this information was not made available to the researcher by the original data source (the City of Montreal). In the case of the 1996 and 2001 census data obtained for our study site, data is presented for the sector as a whole and is not broken down according to each of the enumeration or dissemination areas within it. This will make it easier for the reader to obtain a general profile of the demographic characteristics of the local population. Although there is a slight difference between the three enumeration areas of 1996 and the four dissemination areas of 2001, this difference does not affect data for our residential site because the overlap occurs within adjacent industrial parks where no residential buildings exist. It must be borne in mind that the population of our study site is very small, accounting for only several thousand people. Some census data for this sector will therefore be in very small increments.

Although it might be argued that this data may be statistically invalid for this reason due to Statistics Canada's random rounding procedure, this information nonetheless gives the reader a general idea of the major characteristics of the local population. In addition, it should be noted that all commentary regarding the census data presented in Chapter 5 stems from the researcher's interpretation of this data and does not derive from any other source.

4.7.3 Nomenclature

Place name nomenclature is a tricky issue in the province of Quebec, due to the prevalence of French place names for municipalities and streets. The issue would not arise if this dissertation was written in French. However, because it is written in English, certain conventions regarding the spelling of French place names in English bear explanation. This dissertation follows the official style-book of Montreal's only English-language newspaper, *The Gazette*, in this respect. *The Gazette* has gone through a long self-questioning period regarding the correct spelling of French place names in English in Montreal due to the political climate in Quebec, and has established a style guide (*The Gazette Style*) that has been approved by its parent company and by the Canadian Press. Relevant excerpts from this style guide are provided in Appendix 4. In cases where a French place name is in common English usage, the English form is used ("Montreal" as opposed to "Montréal"). In addition, when municipalities have French names, these are written with accents where required, but not with the hyphen that is common in French. For example, in this dissertation we will write "Côte des Neiges" as opposed to the French version, "Côte-des-Neiges". This also holds true for place names that refer to a particular saint. For example, we will write "St. Laurent" as opposed to "Saint-Laurent" and "Côte St. Luc" instead of "Côte-Saint-Luc". The same procedure is followed for the names of public places (parks or squares) and for streets. According to *The Gazette Style*, park names are to be written as "De La Savane Park" instead of "Parc de la Savane". As well, street names are written with the English appellation "avenue", "street", or "road" instead of the French "rue". For example, this means writing "Paré Avenue" instead of "rue Paré".

In addition, a choice was also made regarding the way that current municipal place names are presented. All the formerly-independent municipalities on the Island of Montreal were merged into the new Montreal mega-city in January 2002. Since fieldwork ended before this took place,

we chose to retain the former names of these particular municipalities, instead of referring to them as boroughs of the City of Montreal, except where necessary. This choice has been made for another reason as well. In June 2004, many of these merged municipalities voted to de-merge from the new mega-city in local referendums (the Liberal Party of Quebec, the reigning party, passed a bill allowing formerly-independent municipalities across Quebec to hold de-merger referendums and to eventually de-merge if the requisite number of votes in favour was received). Therefore, these municipalities will return to something akin to their former status over the course of 2005-2006, and will revert to their former names.

4.7.4 Translations

The need to translate between English and French in this dissertation occurred in two instances. The first occurred during the interview process, since quite a few respondents in Group 2 (community group workers and public authorities) were more comfortable in French than in English. This meant that the researcher had to translate the interview schedule and other relevant information from English to French for these respondents and to conduct interviews in French. The second instance occurred during the presentation of research findings. Because this is an English-language dissertation, it was decided to present all interview citations in English. Dissertations where translation is required will sometimes present citations in the original language, followed by the translated version. However, in our case this seemed impractical since it would lengthen our presentation of findings considerably. The reader can be assured that all translations are faithful and accurate since the researcher is a professional translator with a graduate degree in translation who is accredited with the *Ordre des traducteurs, terminologues et interprètes agréés du Québec*. For the sake of confidentiality, citations that have been translated will not be indicated, as all measures to preserve the anonymity of respondents have been taken.

4.8 CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR INCLUSIVE PLANNING

Theory is constructed through the procedure of data analysis. This can be achieved by adding to initial constructs such as a grand theory or a theoretical map (the stories told about a case) or by comparing predicted patterns of events with those that are observed through the on-going elaboration of a model or a network of inter-linked concepts (Ezzy, 2002). Because this study is based on a grounded theory strategy, the study findings fed in and out of possible ways of creating a more inclusive planning process and practice, validating some aspects and negating others over the course of the study. At the end of Chapter 9, this study will hopefully have contributed to the on-going process of molding the existence of a new planning paradigm, by illuminating its hidden branches.

4.9 EVALUATION

In keeping with the nature of this research project, the study's findings will be put back into the field in the form of articles and presentations in order to allow for emic and etic criticism and commentary. This will ensure that the work at hand remains useful and stays true to its goal of helping to further a new vision of planning that will be inclusive of all members of Canadian society, if they so desire.

CHAPTER 5: CÔTE DES NEIGES AND MOUNTAIN SIGHTS IN CONTEXT

The study site for our doctoral research project is the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, located in the multiethnic district of Côte des Neiges, Montreal. This chapter will discuss the socio-physical geography and planning context of Côte des Neiges and Mountain Sights. This discussion will set the stage for the presentation of interview results in Chapters 6 and 7, and the analysis of study findings in Chapter 8.

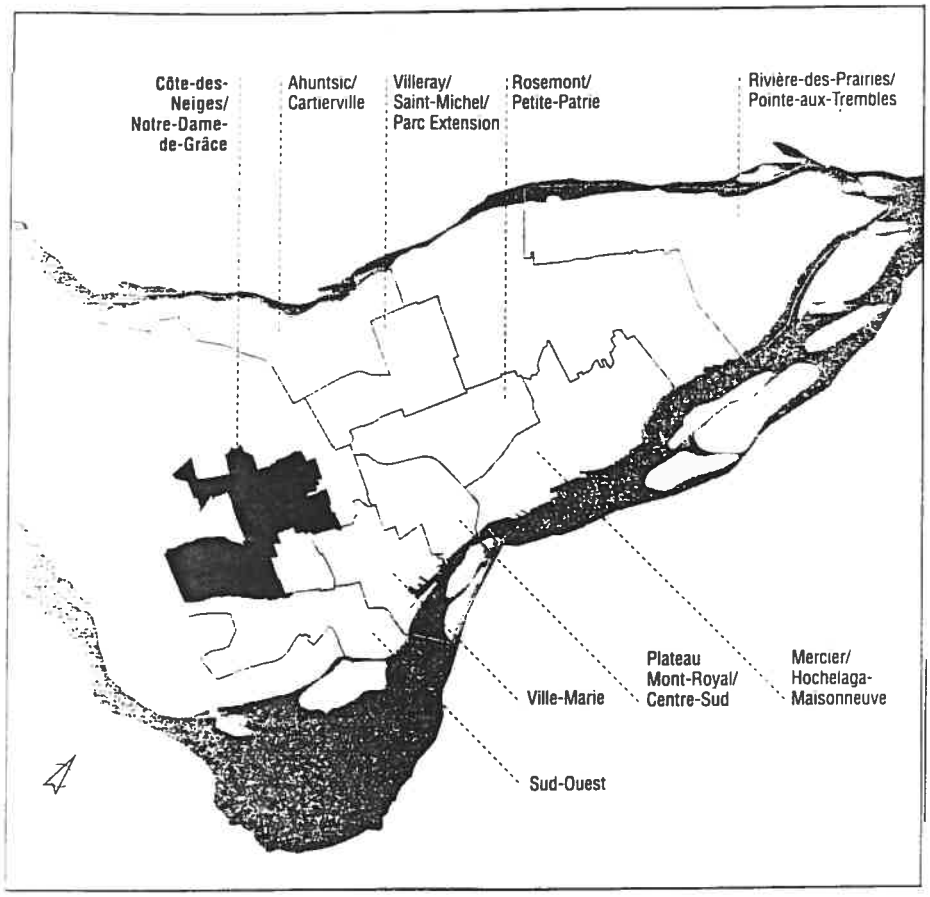
5.1 THE MULTIETHNIC DISTRICT OF CÔTE DES NEIGES

The district of Côte des Neiges is one of the most multiethnic districts in the City of Montreal, as the following discussion on the socio-demographics, geography, and planning context of Côte des Neiges will demonstrate.

Since the municipal mergers of January 2002, the neighbouring districts of Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce have been merged into a single borough. This complicates discussion of the socio-demographic profile of Côte des Neiges somewhat, since statistics released by the City of Montreal for the 1996 Canada Census are for the district of Côte des Neiges (Ville de Montréal, 1998), while those released for the 2001 Canada Census are for the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce (Ville de Montréal, 2003). Although fieldwork for this research project ended prior to 2002, we will nonetheless present the general statistics released by the City of Montreal in 2003 for the 2001 Census in order to provide the reader with current figures for the borough as a whole. However, when discussing the characteristics of the population of Côte des Neiges in greater detail, we will draw only on the 1996 Census, since these details were not available for the 2001 Census at the time of writing.

Figure 1. Location of the borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce.

Source: Plan directeur de l'arrondissement, Ville de Montréal, 1992.



5.1.1 From Ethnic to Multiethnic: the Socio-Demographic Evolution of Côte Des Neiges

With 164,350 inhabitants in 2001, the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce is home to 10% of Montreal's total population (Ville de Montréal, 2003). The borough also has the highest number of immigrants (68,035, or 44% of the borough's population) of all the boroughs of Montreal. The Borough of Villeray/Saint Michel/Park Extension comes in second, with immigrants accounting for 40% of the local population (Ville de Montréal, 2002). In comparison, immigrants account for only 26% of the total population of Montreal (Ville de Montréal, 2003).

These figures change, however, when the two most multiethnic districts in Montreal (Côte des Neiges and Park Extension) are detached from these larger boroughs. Park Extension alone has the largest immigrant population in Montreal (accounting for 61% of the district's population), and the largest proportion of residents declaring an ethnic origin other than English or French Canadian on the 2001 Canada Census (94%). In comparison, immigrants account for 48% of the total population of Côte des Neiges, while 73% of the population declared an ethnic origin other than English or French Canadian. On the contrary, only 35% of the total population of Montreal declared an ethnic origin other than English or French Canadian on the 2001 Census (Ville de Montréal, 2003). The multiethnicity of these districts is without doubt, since over 150 ethnic origins are represented in both Côte des Neiges and Park Extension (Ville de Montréal, 2003).

Côte des Neiges has not always been so multiethnic, however. Originally settled by French Canadians in 1698 (Marsan, 1974), the expanding suburb was absorbed by the City of Montreal between 1908 and 1910 as it was incapable of responding to an increasing demand for sewers and infrastructure on its own. From that point on, the southern sector of Côte des Neiges developed quickly, culminating in the construction of the Université de Montréal in 1929. Throughout this time, development in the northern sector lagged behind. Construction in the northern sector only picked up when a burgeoning Jewish community attracted many Jewish settlers from Eastern Europe as well as from the older Jewish community in Mile End after the end of the Second World War (Blanc, 1995). Throughout the 1950's and 60's, many synagogues, schools, cultural institutions (the Saidye Bronfman Cultural Centre, for example), hospitals (the Jewish General), and community organizations serving the Jewish community sprang up.

During the 1960's, other immigrant groups also began to settle in the northern sector, attracted by the available housing. These included Black Canadians from the Atlantic provinces, West Indians, Indians from India, and Southern Europeans. In the 1970's and 80's, an influx of immigrants and refugees from areas as diverse as South Asia, East Asia, Northern Africa, Haiti, and Latin America began to arrive. By the 1990's, the Ashkenazi Jewish population, along with the original French and English Canadian and Southern European population, was on the decline. Their place has been taken by new immigrants from the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Latin America, Vietnam, Russia, and Eastern Europe.

5.1.2 A Homogeneous / Heterogeneous District

Socio-economically, the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce is not all that different from many other areas in Montreal, at least at first glance. According to the 2001 Census (Ville de Montréal, 2003), women outnumber men, just as they do across Montreal. Families are more prevalent among immigrants than among non-immigrants (74% as opposed to 69%), a feature that also exists in boroughs having a similarly high concentration of immigrants (Villeray/Saint Michel/Park Extension or St. Laurent, for example). Although Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce is the largest English-speaking borough in Montreal (according to 2001 Census variables respecting "maternal language" and "knowledge of official languages"), the proportion of residents able to communicate in both English and French is similar to that existing across the City of Montreal (45%). Immigrants in the borough have higher levels of education than immigrants in other areas of Montreal (40% as opposed to 30%), although the borough's population has exactly the same occupational and labour force profile as the total population of Montreal. The unemployment rate is higher for immigrant men than for non-immigrant men (20% as opposed to 11%), although the rate is comparable to that suffered by immigrant men across Montreal. On the other hand, immigrant women have the lowest unemployment rate (17%) of immigrant women in Montreal (the average is 19%). In general, immigrants living in the borough earn 27% less than non-immigrants, a figure comparable to that of the total population of Montreal.

Beneath this seemingly homogeneous surface lies a greater diversity, however. Piché and Bélanger (1998: 77) label Côte des Neiges a fictitious statistical unit, since its overall socio-demographic profile does not demonstrate the wide variation that exists between sub-areas within the district. First of all, the linking of Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce into a single borough in 2002 changes the demographic profile for both, since the population of Notre Dame de Grâce is less multiethnic and tends to be wealthier and better educated than the population of Côte des Neiges (Ville de Montréal, 1998). And second, Côte des Neiges itself is geographically heterogeneous.

a) A heterogeneous physical geography

Although administratively Côte des Neiges is considered to be a unified entity, the historical separation between north and south still remains in terms of demographics and the built environment. Development has always proceeded in an uneven manner between the two sectors. The southern sector is over-endowed with cultural and recreational facilities when compared with the northern sector (Blanc, 1995). It has three universities and colleges, five hospitals, and religious icons like St. Joseph's Oratory. These institutions are considered to be the economic force driving the district, and this creates a "world within a world that remains oblivious to the very different lives being lived down the hill" (*The Gazette*, October 8, 2002). The southern part is also home to well-off French and English Canadian and Jewish residents (Blanc, 1995). The transition from south to north occurs at Côte Ste. Catherine Road, which divides Côte des Neiges in two. Most of the City of Montreal's low income housing units are located in the northern part. Although 17 City-managed public housing complexes are in the north, only three are located in Côte des Neiges South. The north also has a very different commercial nature, and its many ethnic stores and restaurants contrast with the upscale bookstores and cafés in the southern part.

The transition between north and south is actually quite remarkable. Despite the fact that Côte des Neiges North has one of the densest urban concentrations in Montreal (Ville de Montréal, 2002, 2003), there is only a minimal number of sports and recreational complexes and facilities, parks, and other leisure spaces. There is only one exterior and one interior swimming pool and one skating rink. Two sports and recreational complexes were constructed in the late 1990's and a third is in the works, which has alleviated the problem somewhat (Conseil communautaire de

Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon, 2003). According to planning documents prepared by the City of Montreal's *Service de l'habitation et du développement urbain* in 1992, many areas in Côte des Neiges North are deficient in parks and green spaces. When one considers that Notre Dame de Grâce, with a considerably smaller population, has almost 75% more recreational facilities than the more populous Côte des Neiges North (Conseil communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon, 2003), then this deficiency becomes quite glaring. Compounding this distinction is the fact that the difference between the walk-up apartments of Côte des Neiges North and the large homes of nearby Hampstead and the Town of Mount Royal is very clearly defined (Blanc, 1995).

b) A heterogeneous social geography

The district of Côte des Neiges (pre and post-merger) is divided into four planning sectors: Savane, Parc Kent, Snowdon, and Édouard Montpetit (refer to Figure 2). Conventionally, these are grouped into the northern planning sectors (Savane and Parc Kent) and the southern planning sectors (Snowdon and Édouard Montpetit). This division plays out at the level of socio-demographics as well.

In this section we will revert back to figures from the 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998), primarily because figures for each planning district for the 2001 Census were not available at the time of writing.

According to the 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998), the population of the district of Côte des Neiges as a whole was 97,718. Roughly half (54.5%) of the total population resides in the north, while 45.5% resides in the south (see Table 1). In Côte des Neiges North, 92% of residents declared having an ethnic origin other than French or English Canadian on the 1996 Census (the category of "English Canadian" or "French Canadian" is one that people can check off on the census form if they feel it describes their ethnic origins). This figure drops to 64% in Côte des Neiges South (refer to Table 2). While 54% of residents in the north declared being an immigrant on the census, only 42% of residents in the south did. As well, 50.5% of residents in Côte des Neiges North report belonging to a visible minority group, as opposed to 28% in the south. Most who declare belonging to a visible minority group in the Savane planning sector belong to South Asian groups, while those in the Parc Kent sector tend to report belonging to

various 'Black' groups. In the south, most people declared membership in various Black groups (Snowdon planning sector) and East Asian groups (Édouard Montpetit sector).

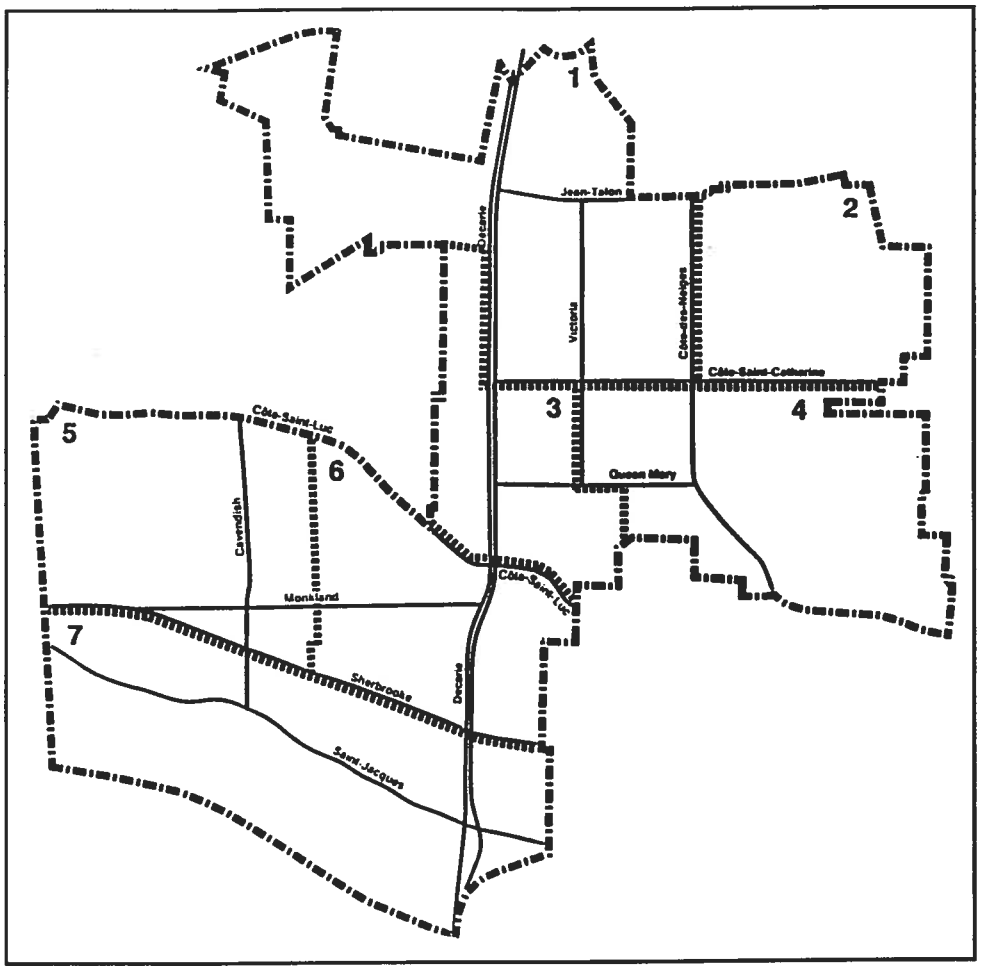
This discrepancy between north and south also occurs at the level of education and household income. Only 45.5% of residents in the northern sector have any sort of post-secondary education, as opposed to 63.5% in the south. Furthermore, households in the north earn, on average, $10,000 less per year than households do in the south ($30,910 as opposed to $41,353).

Table 1. Demographic profile for Côte des Neiges North and South, 1996.
Source: 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998)

Demographic profile for Côte des Neiges North and South			
Demographic category	**Côte des Neiges North**	**Côte des Neiges South**	**TOTAL for the District of Côte des Neiges**
Population	53,342	44,376	97,718
Immigrants	54.0 %	42.0 %	48.0 %
Visible minorities	50.5 %	28.0 %	39.2 %
Households	21,550	21,610	43,160
Families	12,615	9,825	22,440
% having post-secondary education	45.5 %	63.5 %	54.5 %
Average household income	$ 30,910.00	$ 41,353.50	$ 36,131.75

The same discrepancy plays out in terms of household size and composition (please refer to Table 3). According to the 1996 Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998), families are in the majority in Côte des Neiges North (64%), but less so in the south, where they account for 55%. In contrast, single parent families are less prevalent in the north (32%), but make up 38% of all families in the south. In both cases, most are headed by women (87% in the northern and southern planning sectors). The higher percentage of two parent families with children found in the more immigrant northern planning sectors is a pattern found in other areas of Montreal where immigrants comprise a large proportion of the total population, such as Park Extension (Ville de Montréal, 2002).

Figure 2. Planning sectors of Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce.
Source: Dossier urbain, arrondissement CDN/NDG, Ville de Montréal, 1989.



PLANNING SECTORS

1 Savane
2 Parc Kent
3 Snowdon
4 Edouard Montpetit
5 Loyola
6 Côte St. Antoine
7 Upper Lachine

Table 2. Main ethnic origins declared in Côte des Neiges, by planning sector, 1996.
Source: 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998)

Main ethnic origins declared in Côte des Neiges, by planning sector						
Ethnic origin	**Côte des Neiges North**			**Côte des Neiges South**		
	Savane	Parc Kent	TOTAL	Snowdon	Édouard Montpetit	TOTAL
English Canadian	1,125	932	2,057	1,315	1,680	2,995
French Canadian	1,485	3,232	4,714	2,510	5,776	8,286
Jewish	4,205	3,045	7,250	3,270	1,055	4,325
Filipino	3,765	1,040	4,805	960	490	1,450
Vietnamese	1,635	1,090	2,725	460	330	790
Indian	1,345	435	1,789	315	105	420
Chinese	1,155	330	1,485	710	470	1,180
Lebanese	475	415	890	250	515	765
Haitian	405	645	1,050	180	260	440
Portuguese	350	180	530	95	55	150
Romanian	240	525	765	480	475	955
Greek	220	830	1,050	340	140	480
Polish	210	250	460	365	185	550
Latin American	185	335	520	240	195	435
Italian	160	180	340	315	160	475
Other	8,170	5,210	13,380	4,130	4,140	8,270

Table 3. Demographic profile according to planning sector in Côte des Neiges, 1996.
Source: 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998)

Demographic profile according to planning sector in Côte des Neiges				
Demographic category	**Savane sector**	**Parc Kent sector**	**Snowdon sector**	**Édouard Montpetit sector**
Population	29,928	23,414	22,171	22,205
Immigrants	59.0 %	49.0 %	47.0 %	37.0 %
Visible minorities	62.0 %	39.0 %	31.0 %	25.0 %
Households	11,470	10,080	10,040	11,570
Families	6,970	5,645	5,345	4,480
% having post-secondary education	38.0 %	53.0 %	56.0 %	71.0 %
Average household income	$ 25,579	$ 36,241	$ 41,729	$ 40,978

Within Côte des Neiges North itself, another discrepancy plays out between the Savane and Parc Kent planning sectors. Savane has a larger population, higher number of immigrants and visible minorities, higher rate of unemployment, lower level of residents having completed some form of post-secondary studies, and lower average household income (see Table 3).

The most multiethnic sector of Côte des Neiges according to the 1996 Census is the Savane planning sector (Ville de Montréal, 1998). This sector has the highest number of new immigrants from South Asia and East Asia, particularly from the Philippines, Vietnam, India, China, Lebanon, and Sri Lanka. This is also the sector with the largest households and highest number of single parent families. In general, this sector is the most socio-economically disadvantaged of all the sectors in Côte des Neiges (Ville de Montréal, 2003), although there are still some rather well-off pockets at the northern tip of the Savane and Parc Kent planning sectors, and on several blocks between Jean Talon Boulevard and Van Horne Avenue.

In short, Côte des Neiges is separated into a lower income and highly immigrant northern sector, and a more established and less immigrant southern sector that is home to many large institutions and businesses. The socio-demographic profile of residents of Côte des Neiges North is comparable to that of residents living in other highly multiethnic and lower income areas in Montreal such as Park Extension, while the profile of residents in Côte des Neiges South is comparable to middle income multiethnic districts of Montreal (such as neighbouring Notre Dame de Grâce or parts of the former municipality of St. Laurent) (Ville de Montréal, 2002).

5.1.3 A Transition Zone *and* a Settlement Zone

Although Côte des Neiges North is one of the most multiethnic districts of Montreal, annual incomes are still higher than those found in many lower income areas of Montreal in general (Ville de Montréal, 2003). This is important because immigration and urban poverty are often correlated in the literature on Canadian and American cities (Balakrishnan and Hou, 2001; Brodie, 2000: 124). In fact, this is the central thesis of Michael Porter's (1995) revitalization argument concerning inner city neighbourhoods with large immigrant or minority populations. There are two noteworthy aspects that bear consideration here. The first has to do with the social problem of urban poverty and the exclusion of immigrants and visible minorities from the city

(Brodie, 2000; Fincher, 2001). The second has to do with the link between disadvantaged immigrant and minority neighbourhoods and socio-environmental degradation (Skifter Anderson, 2003). Immigrant reception zones tend to be labelled "transition zones", which assumes that residents only stay in these areas long enough to get a foothold in their new country before dispersing out to 'better' neighbourhoods (Mesch and Manor, 1998). As the thinking goes, residents are unlikely to invest in their neighbourhood if they plan on moving away soon (Goldsmith, 1997). On the other hand, more recent attention to the stability of multiethnic or multiracial neighbourhoods is beginning to discount this point of view (Smith, 2000).

In Montreal, a number of urban zones were identified by the Quebec government and the City of Montreal in the late 1980's as being problem areas, and were labelled "disadvantaged zones" under the joint municipal-provincial *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* program of 2000. These are all areas that often tend to be populated mainly by ethnic or visible minority groups. For most of the latter half of the 1980's and most of the 1990's, they were also characterized by high levels of violence and criminal activity, related in part to the drug trade (Richardson, 1991, 1993). In the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce, these areas are still considered to be "problem zones". Barclay Avenue and Mountain Sights Avenue in Côte des Neiges and Walkley Avenue and West Haven in Notre Dame de Grâce all enjoy this connotation, according to internal documents circulated by the former Mayor's Commission on the *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* (the unit which oversaw implementation of the *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* program). This 'official' designation of urban disadvantaged zones is important in our case, because this designation affects the way that authorities and the general population perceive multiethnic or immigrant areas, and because it is, for all intents and purposes, no longer reflective of reality.

Côte des Neiges has a definite reputation as a transition zone. As Michèle Ouimet remarks: "For immigrants, Côte des Neiges is their port of entry, their first apartment, their first contact with Montreal, but as soon as they have saved up a little nest egg, they leave" (*La Presse,* October 10, 1998). This reputation has become solidified by the fact that opportunities for home ownership are fewer in Côte des Neiges than in other areas of the city, since home ownership is considered to be a key indicator of the ability of immigrants (or residents in general) to settle down and invest in a neighbourhood (Miron, 1993). Only 17% of residents in Côte des Neiges were home owners (16% in Côte des Neiges North and 18% in Côte des Neiges South) in 1996, as opposed

to 27% across Montreal in general (Ville de Montréal, 1998). Most of the housing stock in Côte des Neiges is in the form of apartments or multi-family dwellings, and only 2% are single family homes (Ville de Montréal, 1998).

In addition, mobility is considered to be very high in Côte des Neiges, and in other multiethnic immigrant 'reception' areas as well. Statistics from the 1996 Canada Census (Ville de Montréal, 1998) show that 53% of residents in Côte des Neiges as a whole moved over the five year period between 1991 and 1996. This figure is often held up as proof of the transitory nature of residential trajectories in immigrant reception zones (Ouimet, 1998). This perception of high mobility in Côte des Neiges is compounded by the fact that the district is home to over 10,000 students, many of them international students, who attend the various colleges and the Université de Montréal. The problem with this negative perception of mobility in Côte des Neiges is that roughly the same percentage of Montrealers (51%) also moved within the same period (Ville de Montréal, 1998), as well as during the five year period between 1996 and 2001 (48%) (Ville de Montréal, 2003).

Basing the idea that urban areas receiving a large proportion of new arrivals are merely transition zones (and not settlement areas) on statistics that apply equally to Montrealers as a whole poses a dilemma. This notion probably has roots in the Chicago School's concentric zone model, where immigrants move on to better-off zones if and when they become more 'successful' (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1926). Likewise, minority groups that remain in Côte des Neiges over a long period of time are often considered to be captive, economically unable to move to a better neighbourhood (refer to Bertheleu and Billion's 1998 study on Laotians and Vietnamese, for example). On the other hand, groups that have invested substantially in the landscape via businesses and institutions are considered to have chosen to settle down there, as is the case with the Jewish population of Côte des Neiges (Blanc, 1995: 144).

The argument that areas receiving very large numbers of new arrivals are merely transition zones should actually not be applied to immigrant districts in Montreal such as Côte des Neiges. Socio-environmental problems such as poor quality housing and environmental degradation are not by any means restricted to immigrant or multiethnic areas in Montreal. In fact, they are also a major problem in more culturally homogeneous lower income neighbourhoods (Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Mercier, Point St. Charles, etc.), and in neighbourhoods where one or two

ethnocultural or ethno-racial groups tend to dominate (St. Michel, Montreal North, Little Burgundy) (Ville de Montréal, 2003). As Germain (Germain *et al*, 1995: 26) notes in a long-term study of multiethnic neighbourhoods in Montreal:

> "Poverty and ethnicity are often associated in the public opinion. If, in certain countries, this association has some sort of foundation, the reality in Montreal is quite different, as the economic insertion of immigrants compares advantageously with that of native-born residents."

The perception that Côte des Neiges is merely a transition zone, or one where long-term residency is determined by captivity and not by choice, is therefore debatable. Several studies have shown definitively that groups and individuals do establish roots and create residential community networks in the district (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002; Blanc and Viannay, 2000; Le Gall and Meintel, 1998; Blanc, 1995). The lack of opportunities for home ownership has a lot to do with the fairly high levels of mobility out of the district. And in addition, a good number of moves happen within the area itself, with 57.7% of all moves taking place between 1991 and 1996 occurring *within* the district of Côte des Neiges (Ville de Montréal, 1998). Housing in Côte des Neiges is not any cheaper than in many other parts of the city and is sometimes even more expensive (Ville de Montréal, 2003), which negates the idea of residential captivity.

The tendency to correlate Côte des Neiges North with a host of social ills (social integration problems, unemployment, criminality and violence, drug problems) is furthered by the media. Unfavourable news reports on violence in areas like Barclay and Mountain Sights and continuing media reports on dead-beat landlords have consolidated Côte des Neiges' reputation as a transit zone where little investment occurs on the part of residents, large businesses, or authorities. The infamous "sleep-over" of the former Mayor of Montreal (Vision Montreal's Pierre Bourque) in the dilapidated apartment of a Bengali immigrant family on Barclay Avenue in 2001 was covered by every news station in Montreal, and a slew of media reports on poor housing conditions, the problem of urban poverty, and environmental degradation in Côte des Neiges ensued. The continual broadcasting of these types of problems makes it seem as though these social ills are widespread, when in fact they often tend to be incidents that are isolated in time and space.

In this respect, El-Yamani and Dupuis (1998: 49-50) note that the media portrayal of Côte des Neiges as 'the Bronx of Montreal' is biased and not reflective of reality:

> "The Bronx of Montreal, this is what they have labelled Côte des Neiges. This creates a derogatory and pejorative image of the district, and by extension, of its inhabitants. [...] The media constructs "catastrophic" images that are certainly based on reality, but by only covering this negative aspect, the media influences our perception of the world and of certain spaces."

5.1.4 The Lived Environment in Multiethnic Côte des Neiges

Socio-demographic realities in Côte des Neiges are reflected in the physical environment. The imprint left by various ethnocultural groups on commercial activity is inescapable. The main commercial arteries and shopping centres of Côte des Neiges, particularly in Côte des Neiges North, have always been the preserve of small businesses owned by individuals belonging to different ethnic groups (Juteau and Paré, 1998). Large institutions belonging to French Canadian and Jewish groups dominate the landscape (Blanc, 1995), although Italians and Greeks are represented commercially in the northernmost sector as the owners of residential buildings and large commercial enterprises (Juteau and Paré, 1998). The spatial dominance of these established groups and their hold over the largest and most expensive tracts of real estate is highly visible. Many large French Canadian and Jewish institutions have been making a concerted effort over the past decade to "open their doors" to a more diverse clientele, although whether or not this has been successful is open to debate.

Some authors have observed residential clustering among ethnocultural groups, with certain apartment blocks, housing cooperatives, and streets being the preserve of distinct groups. Michèle Ouimet (*La Presse*, October 10, 1998) notes that there is a certain distribution by street or residential block: Russians along part of Bourret Avenue, Latin Americans along part of Linton Avenue, Bengalis on part of Barclay Avenue, and Jewish and West Indian residents along Victoria Avenue. A similar type of ethnic group clustering in public space was noted in Blanc's (1995) study on public spaces and ethnic group coexistence in Côte des Neiges North.

Little work to date has looked at the 'fit' between public space and current social realities in Montreal's multiethnic neighbourhoods, although a small amount of research attention has been devoted to housing, environmental transformations, places of worship, and recreational facilities. The ease of managing public housing when tenants share a similar ethnic background has been noted (Germain *et al*, 2003). On the other hand, problems increase proportionally to the degree of multiethnicity and the number of new immigrants living in public housing projects, even in more multiethnic neighbourhoods of Montreal such as Côte des Neiges (Germain *et al*, 2003). This can include things such as problems between tenants of different ethnocultural origins, "non-integrated" domestic habits, and social isolation (Di Chiaro, 2002; Dansereau and Séguin, 1995). Studies on environmental transformations take a historical perspective, tracking local reactions to change in residential and commercial contexts (Blanc and Viannay, 2000; Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). Cursory attention has been paid to conflicts of interest over the expansion of synagogues, old age homes, and yeshivas associated with the Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox Jewish communities, according to internal surveys carried out by the City of Montreal's Urban Planning Division. The impact of increasing multiethnicity on the recreational sector has been followed closely by the municipal Sports and Recreation Department (Richardson, 2001). The 'fit' between current recreational service needs and municipal management practices is called into question due to the conflicting or different recreational preferences and practices of newer immigrant groups, in Côte des Neiges as well as in other Montreal neighbourhoods (Germain and Gagnon, 2003; Germain *et al*, 2003; Germain and Poirier, 2001). Current understanding of the public space preferences and practices of residents in multiethnic districts of Montreal such as Côte des Neiges is therefore based on a hodge-podge of studies that address the issue from a wide variety of angles, although public space planning and environmental management has not been one of the angles of examination so far.

5.1.5 The Côte des Neiges Planning Context

Since this research project focuses on planning, some background information on planning in the district of Côte des Neiges, from the local Master Plan to planning structures and actors at different levels, will help the reader better situate planning actions and responses during the presentation and discussion of our study's findings.

a) The local Master Plan

The local municipal Master Plan for Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce, in force since 1992, centres mainly around the notion that Côte des Neiges is a significant economic force driving Montreal's economy, due to a commercial pole located at the heart of Côte des Neiges and two industrial poles at the northwestern tip of the district (Ville de Montréal, 1992). Despite the focus on economic imperatives, the main planning problems highlighted in the local Master Plan concord with those stressed by local actors working for community-based organizations in the area (Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon, 2003). Particular attention is also paid in the Plan to "disadvantaged zones" such as the area of Mountain Sights, Barclay-Goyer-Bedford, Touchette, and Linton-Bourret (Ville de Montréal, 1992: 14).

The Plan also specifically encourages "the development of community groups that would represent their residential area to the City and to be their eyes and ears, [...] encouraging the sense of attachment" (Ville de Montréal, 1992: 18). In addition, several objectives exist to ensure that an adequate amount of parks and recreational services exist in the northern sector, and that they serve a great diversity of user groups. For example, one objective states that "planning for parks and leisure facilities must reflect the great diversity of needs of a fragmented clientele that resides in distinct physical and social urban spheres" (Ville de Montréal, 1992: 22). In addition, existing parks are considered to be responding poorly to the needs of diverse groups:

> "Analysis shows that the districts located to the east of Notre Dame de Grâce and in Côte des Neiges have serious deficiencies at the level of park provision. These districts have fewer green spaces, and existing parks do not always respond adequately to the needs of a diversified clientele. In order to become better adapted to these needs, park redevelopment should be targeted to a more varied clientele." (Ville de Montréal, 1992: 22)

On the surface, therefore, the local Master Plan for Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce appears to be somewhat sensitive to cultural diversity and open to alternative ways of planning.

b) Planning interventions and actors at the municipal level

During fieldwork for this study, both the municipal Urban Planning Division and Parks Planning Division were centralized at a downtown location, although some municipal departments and divisional units (parks operations and maintenance, sports and recreation, public works, communications) had already been decentralized to regional or local offices. However, since the municipal mergers of 2002, the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce has had a local borough office with permanent representatives from various municipal departments on hand to administer City programs (as have the other newly-formed boroughs of the 'new' City of Montreal). This includes a recently decentralized urban planning unit composed of building inspectors, technicians, and urban planners that is 'assisted' by a committee of residents (many of whom are planning and architectural professionals), whose members are selected from among those who make a formal application to the borough office. Before the municipal mergers, the urban planner and the building inspector responsible for the Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce area were situated at the downtown office of the Urban Planning Division. The urban planner was responsible for approving and overseeing all permit requests for new development or dispensation from existing zoning regulations, and was also in charge of revisions to the local Master Plan that were underway during the latter months of our fieldwork.

In addition to these planning authorities, three public consultation forums have always held regular hearings on planning matters, usually on a monthly basis: the *Comité consultatif d'urbanisme* (CCU), the *Commission interculturelle*, and the *Commission sur la circulation et la stationnement*. In addition, the Borough Council holds monthly meetings open to all residents. The Borough Council has replicated many of the projects and responsibilities previously held by the *Conseil communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon* and has the power to devote funds within the borough budget to these projects. In a sense, two parallel administrative and planning structures have been created in the borough; one is the recently created borough office and planning unit, and the other is an initiative of local community-based organizations.

Many municipal departments maintained local offices in the borough at the time of writing. This includes the Éco-Quartier, an organization administered by the regional Public Works office that oversees recycling, large goods/hazardous materials collection areas, local environmental beautification initiatives, and environmental awareness programs. Other regional offices include Sports and Recreation, Parks Operations and Maintenance, and a local Accès-Montréal office where residents can obtain information on municipal programs and file complaints or requests.

Little public information or published academic studies on culturally-based planning matters in Côte des Neiges are available. Most of the information available on this subject appears in the form of articles in the local press regarding controversies over public space or planning issues in Côte des Neiges. In terms of public parks and green spaces, one of the features that has been noted by municipal actors involves demands for monuments or commemorative parks on the part of certain ethnocultural groups. According to Martin (2000), these requests are not easily reconcilable with available park space and the suitability of the request for a multiethnic area. For example, in the spring of 2001, a local Filipino coalition requested that 12 square meters be set aside in Mackenzie King Park to commemorate a Filipino national hero, José Rizal. Authorities with the Parks Department refused, because this particular park is highly used by other ethnocultural groups as well and they did not want to exclude these groups by sub-dividing off a large section of the park. In their experience, commemorative parks can end up being territorialized by members of a specific ethnocultural community, who sometimes refuse access to 'outsiders' (*The Gazette*, June 12, 2001). However, authorities with the Parks Department recognized the importance of the request for the Filipino community and designated a smaller pocket park in the Snowdon area (on the south side of Queen Mary Road between Earnscliffe and Clanranald Avenues) to this national hero. However, the Filipino coalition making the request was fairly disgruntled because this tiny park was hard to reach and was located in an area that was quite far away from the main 'Filipino residential area' in Côte des Neiges (*The Gazette*, June 12, 2001).

In other cases, the difficulty experienced by employees of the local Sports and Recreation office in Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce in mediating between the recreational practices of different ethnocultural groups in the area has been noted (Richardson, 2001). The solution, at least on paper, has been to accommodate specific requests if these affect the ability of members of a certain community to participate in recreational activities (separate swim times at local pools

for women belonging to certain Muslim and Ultra Orthodox Jewish communities, for example), although requests that restrict the activity to members of one ethnic group in particular are often discouraged (Richardson, 2001). Similarly, municipal urban planners and housing specialists do not always seem to have had an easy time mediating between different ethnocultural groups in the district. We get a glimpse of this in the way that municipal actors have sometimes tended to discourage the regularization of irregular uses (those for which an occupancy permit or special dispensation from existing zoning regulations must be requested) such as yeshivas, ethnic places of worship, ethnic homes for the elderly, and certain types of commercial enterprises during public consultation meetings (refer to the minutes of the *Comité consultatif d'urbanisme* going back to the early 1990's, or to those of the *Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon*).

Three observations emerge from this brief overview of the municipal planning and public space management structure and related planning issues in Côte des Neiges.

1. Decentralization is usually touted as a catch-all solution for rendering planning more appropriate to local needs (Allen and Cars, 2001). Given this, do municipal actors respond differently to cultural diversity in Côte des Neiges based on their degree of decentralization or their willingness to work with local groups? Do municipal actors specifically tailor their modes of operation to this multiethnic context, or do they work under a "one size fits all" mentality? How receptive are they to culturally different requests in general?

2. Little mention is made of policies and guidelines for dealing with multiethnic contexts in the documents or notes disseminated by any of these municipal offices. How then do these actors practice planning in a multiethnic area? What guidelines or policies regarding decision-making in contexts of diversity are they operating under?

3. And lastly, a certain weight is given to 'partnership' and 'collaboration' with residents, community-based organizations, and institutions in the local Master Plan and in documents and reports prepared by municipal actors. Do existing public participation forums provide the needed voice for local residents in the planning process? How do municipal actors determine what the diverse needs and concerns of residents in the area might be? What does "collaboration with local actors" mean for municipal actors, and how does it affect the outcome of planning or management actions in a multiethnic area?

c) Planning interventions made by community-based organizations and residents' groups

Community-based organizations

Community-based organizations of all types have traditionally been fairly active in environmental and planning issues in Côte des Neiges, either in collaboration with, or in opposition to, municipal actions or practices (Blanc, 1995; Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon, 2003). Côte des Neiges has one of the highest number of community-based organizations in Montreal (Blanc, 1995), many of which represent the various ethnocultural groups that have settled in the district. Most of the older Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant non-profit organizations (such as Genesis or PROMIS) have been active in immigrant and refugee reception and settlement, as have the many ethnocultural associations that have sprung up to provide assistance to members of their community. The latter are involved in the day to day needs of their community, but often extend their activities out to other groups. These various actors create a multiethnic public life that revolves around festivals to which all residents are invited (Jamaica Day, Barbados Day, the Sri Lankan Olympic Games, the Filipino *Pista sa Nayon*) and around community-specific activities and concerns.

These groups, in addition to sector-based organizations (housing assistance, tenants' rights, youth, women), have fought for the establishment of new recreational complexes and basic infrastructure, and have been active in urban revitalization and environmental improvement projects targeted at buildings, public parks, streets, traffic, and public safety. In addition, many actors with local community-based organizations have collaborated with other institutional and municipal actors to help residents form associations to lobby the City of Montreal for improved services and to address issues of landlord neglect. For example, Genesis has been active in the Van Horne Park area in order to help convince the City and other authorities (the police, in particular) to improve security in the park, install traffic lights nearby, and repair broken park equipment. The CLSC-CDN (although not a community group, this public institution has a public health and community development mandate) has also taken up this cause, and since the 1980's has put a lot of pressure on the City to make improvements to public parks throughout Côte des Neiges. Groups such as l'OEIL (*l'Organisation d'éducation et d'information en logement*) and ROMEL (*Regroupement des organismes du Montréal ethnique pour le logement*)

have been active in the field of building improvement and tenant education, helping to establish housing cooperatives and subsidized housing units. For example, l'OEIL succeeded in getting the City to take over responsibility for a deteriorating apartment building in Côte des Neiges in 2001 and to re-house its tenants while the required renovations were carried out (l'OEIL, 2001).

Many of these organizations come together under the auspices of the *Conseil communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon* (also known as the *Table de concertation intersectorielle de Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon* or the Intersectorial Neighbourhood Consultation Board of Côte des Neiges/ Snowdon). The City of Montreal formed a *Table de concertation intersectorielle de quartier* (Intersectorial Neighbourhood Consultation Board) in each district of Montreal in the 1990's, with the intention of providing a forum for inter-group collaboration on common projects. The *Conseil communautaire de Côte-des-Neiges/Snowdon* was formally inducted into this network in the early 1990's, and became the Intersectorial Neighbourhood Consultation Board of Côte des Neiges/Snowdon. From its founding in the early 1980's, this umbrella organization has been active in planning matters. Members of the *Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon* were very involved in the consultations leading up to Montreal's First Urban Plan in the 1980's, and are involved in the current revision process for the local Master Plan. The *Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon* has collaborated with various institutions and municipal authorities over the years in order to address some of the large scale socio-spatial problems affecting certain populations in Côte des Neiges, such as criminal and gang activity, unemployment, and social integration (Conseil communautaire de CDN/Snowdon, 2003). These institutional actors include the police, the CLSC-CDN, the local CDEC (*Commission de développement économique*), hospitals, and representatives of various municipal departments.

In addition, sub-committees such as the Housing Committee and the *Comité de développement des équipements collectifs* have also been active in local planning issues. In the late 1980's, the Housing Committee (under the PALL program) helped create many coops and subsidized housing units in the area, in collaboration with the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal* (SHDM) and other public organizations. However, once *Les Habitations communautaires* (a non-profit building management organization) was established to manage these coops and subsidized housing units in 1995, the Housing Committee was dissolved. Similarly, the *Comité de développement des équipements collectifs* was responsible for getting the aid of three levels of government (in the framework of the "*Travaux d'infrastructures*

Canada-Québec" agreement between Quebec's Municipal Affairs Minister and the federal Minister of Justice and Office of the Procurer General of Canada) in order to develop three new recreational complexes in Côte des Neiges: the *Centre communautaire de loisirs de la Côte-des-Neiges* (1995), the *Centre sportif Côte-des-Neiges* (1997), and a third community centre slated for construction in 2003-2004.

This brief overview raises certain questions that cannot be answered by attending local meetings or by reading the documents and notes prepared by these organizations. How do these actors approach planning in a multiethnic area? How do their opinions on local planning concerns differ from those of municipal actors, and, in comparison, how different are their modes of operation? How do actors with community-based organizations determine what the diverse needs of residents might be in these types of planning situations?

Residents' groups

The involvement of residents in this grassroots planning process sometimes occurs in the form of residents' groups, which include residents' associations, tenants' associations, tenants' rights groups, coop associations, public housing committees, and community garden committees. The majority of these groups were formed as a result of the actions of local community-based organizations or public institutions striving to empower residents in lower income or "difficult" neighbourhoods (Richardson, 1991, 1993; CLSC-CDN, 1996). In the Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce area, the three best-known residents' groups are the Barclay-Goyer-Bedford Neighbourhood Association, the Mountain Sights Residents' Association, and United Families of Walkley. These groups are 'betterment' groups since they have been formed by residents and community-based organizations in order to rehabilitate and improve the neighbourhood, as opposed to 'defensive' groups that are formed to prevent the construction of unsuitable development in an area (Rabrenovic, 1996).

The oldest of these associations is United Families of Walkley in Notre Dame de Grâce, which has served as a model for the Mountain Sights Residents' Association and the Barclay-Goyer-Bedford Neighbourhood Association. According to Richardson (1991, 1993), United Families of Walkley dates back to 1968, when the neighbourhood's West Indian residents sought the help of the City of Montreal in providing sports and recreational facilities for their children. Over the

next 20 years, this residents' association and City community development workers ran programs designed to deal with a growing high school drop-out rate among local children, the difficult social problems faced by many residents (problems faced by single mothers and new immigrants, for example), a high level of delinquent and criminal behaviour among youth, and problems resulting from the deteriorating condition of apartment buildings. However, municipal and provincial funding cutbacks and increasing gang-related violence caused the association to dissolve in 1989. This prompted residents, local elected representatives, and the Sports and Recreation Department to work together to re-launch the association in 1990 (which included the formation of a local landlords' association). The City appointed a full time community development worker to the association and various other municipal departments were ordered to develop intensive programs to 'clean up' the area, many which are now being managed by United Families of Walkley.

The six-year old Barclay-Goyer-Bedford Neighbourhood Association (BGB) has evolved out of a similar trajectory. Founded by local residents, it managed to attract considerable political attention from the previous municipal administration under Mayor Bourque. The BGB now has a full time director (a local resident) and several full time social and community development workers who do outreach in the neighbourhood. The group is directly involved in managing various programs to improve the quality of local buildings and the environment, including nearby Kent Park, where the BGB has been instrumental in negotiating improvements to park infrastructure and equipment (CLSC-CDN, 2000). The Mountain Sights Residents' Association evolved from a similar trajectory. Residents and community group workers with the CLSC-CDN, PROMIS, and l'OEIL drew on the Walkley experience when creating this association in the early 1990's, and it has suffered through many of the same ups and downs in its short life (details are provided in section 5.2).

These three residents' associations have all arisen in minority neighbourhoods plagued by violence and other social ills, and they have all evolved into activist groups that link social, economic, and environmental betterment together. While the results obtained through the collaborative efforts of these residents' associations, local community-based organizations, and certain public institutions are fairly well known (massive park renovations, cleanliness campaigns, etc.), little is known about how these groups "do" planning, and in a multiethnic context to boot.

The socio-demographic and planning profile of the district of Côte des Neiges (or the Borough of Côte des Neiges/Notre Dame de Grâce, since 2002) has provided us with a general overview of the characteristics of its well-to-do southern sector and its less wealthy and highly multiethnic northern sector. During this discussion, we also raised several questions regarding planning and municipal management in Côte des Neiges. Now it is time to find out how our case study site of Mountain Sights compares with the larger district of Côte des Neiges in these respects, and whether or not our questions regarding planning and cultural diversity in Côte des Neiges are equally valid for this study site.

5.2 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MOUNTAIN SIGHTS

In this section we will examine the physical and social geography of the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, before discussing the planning interventions carried out by actors with local residents' associations, community-based organizations, and public institutions.

5.2.1 A Residential Island in an Industrial Sea

The neighbourhood under study for this doctoral research project is a residential segment tucked away in the uppermost corner of the Savane planning sector in Côte des Neiges North (refer to Figure 3). Mountain Sights Avenue, for which the neighbourhood is named, actually runs north-south through most of Côte des Neiges, but our study site is a particular residential section of the street located within the Decarie Industrial Pole sector to the west of the Town of Mount Royal (see Figure 4).

This residential "island" runs from Jean Talon Boulevard until just north of De La Savane Avenue, and includes 27 buildings with the following civic addresses: 7400, 7440, and 7480 Mountain Sights (between Jean Talon Boulevard and Paré Avenue) and 7715 to 8072 Mountain Sights (between Paré and De La Savane Avenues). This stretch of 27 walk-up apartment buildings is served by a small commercial strip on the northeast corner of Paré and Mountain Sights Avenues consisting of an Indian restaurant, a dry-cleaner, a laundromat, and a dépanneur. Two alleys run north-south alongside the apartment buildings on the eastern and western sides of Mountain Sights Avenue (see Figure 5).

Figure 3. Location of the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights within Côte des Neiges.

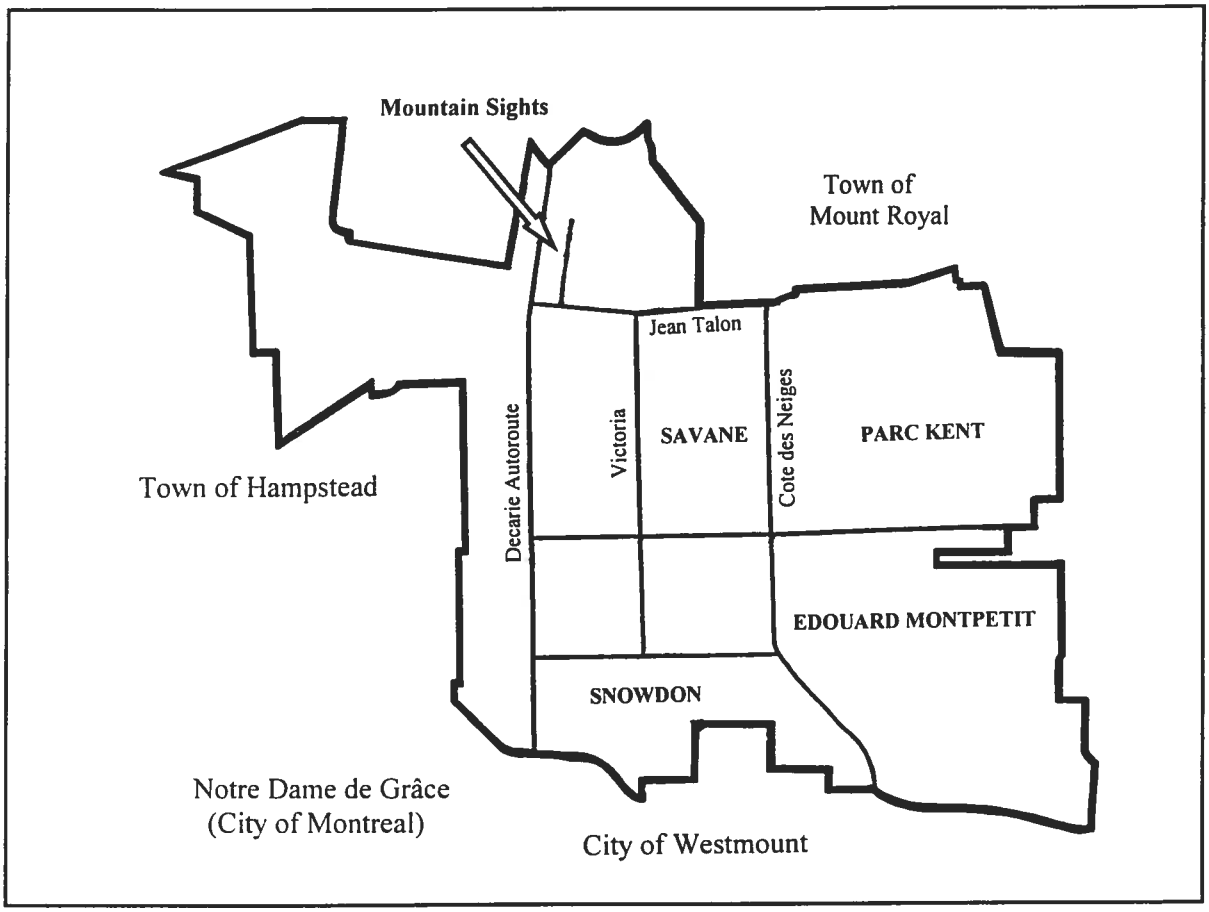


Figure 4. The neighbourhood of Mountain Sights and surroundings.

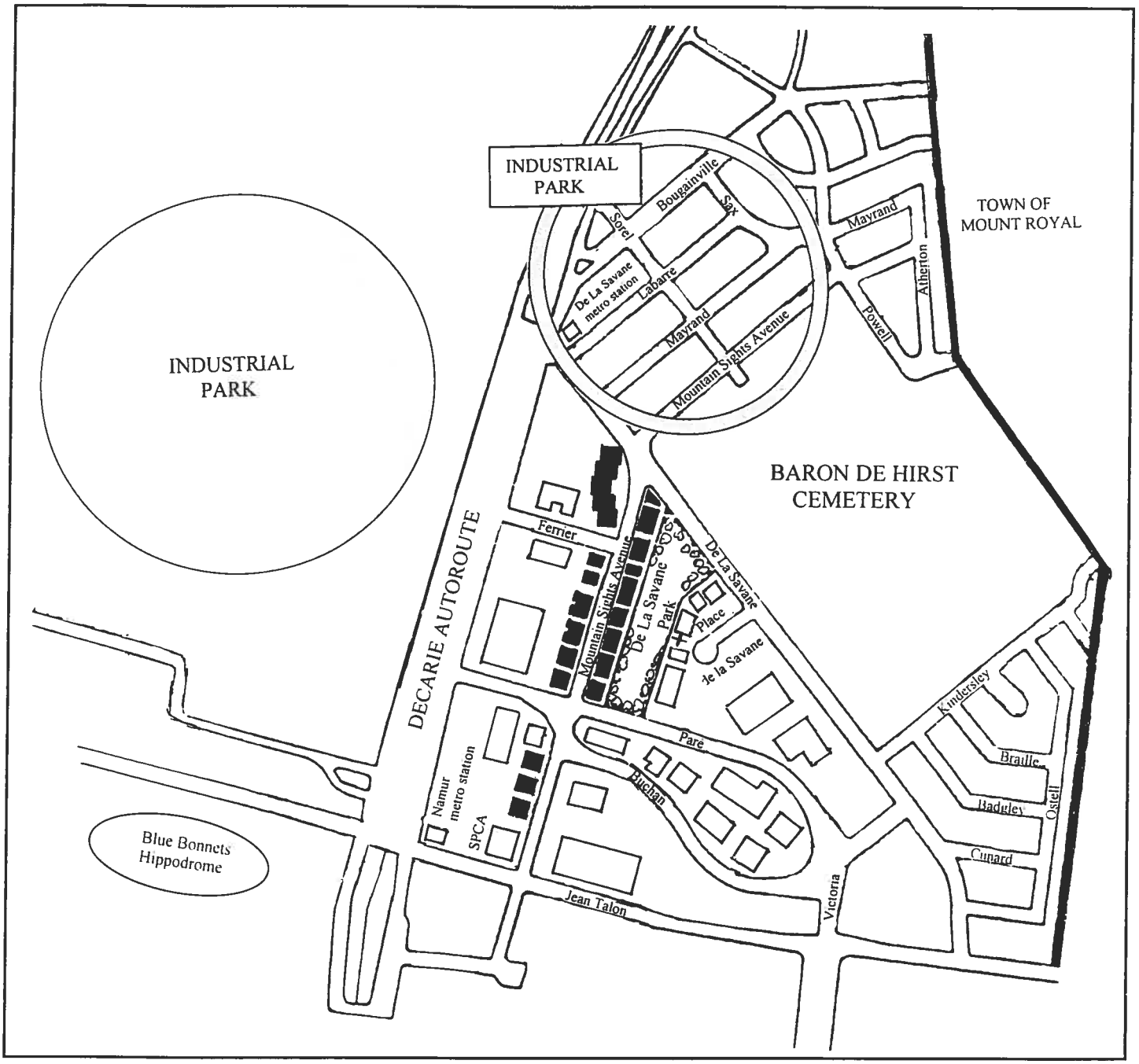
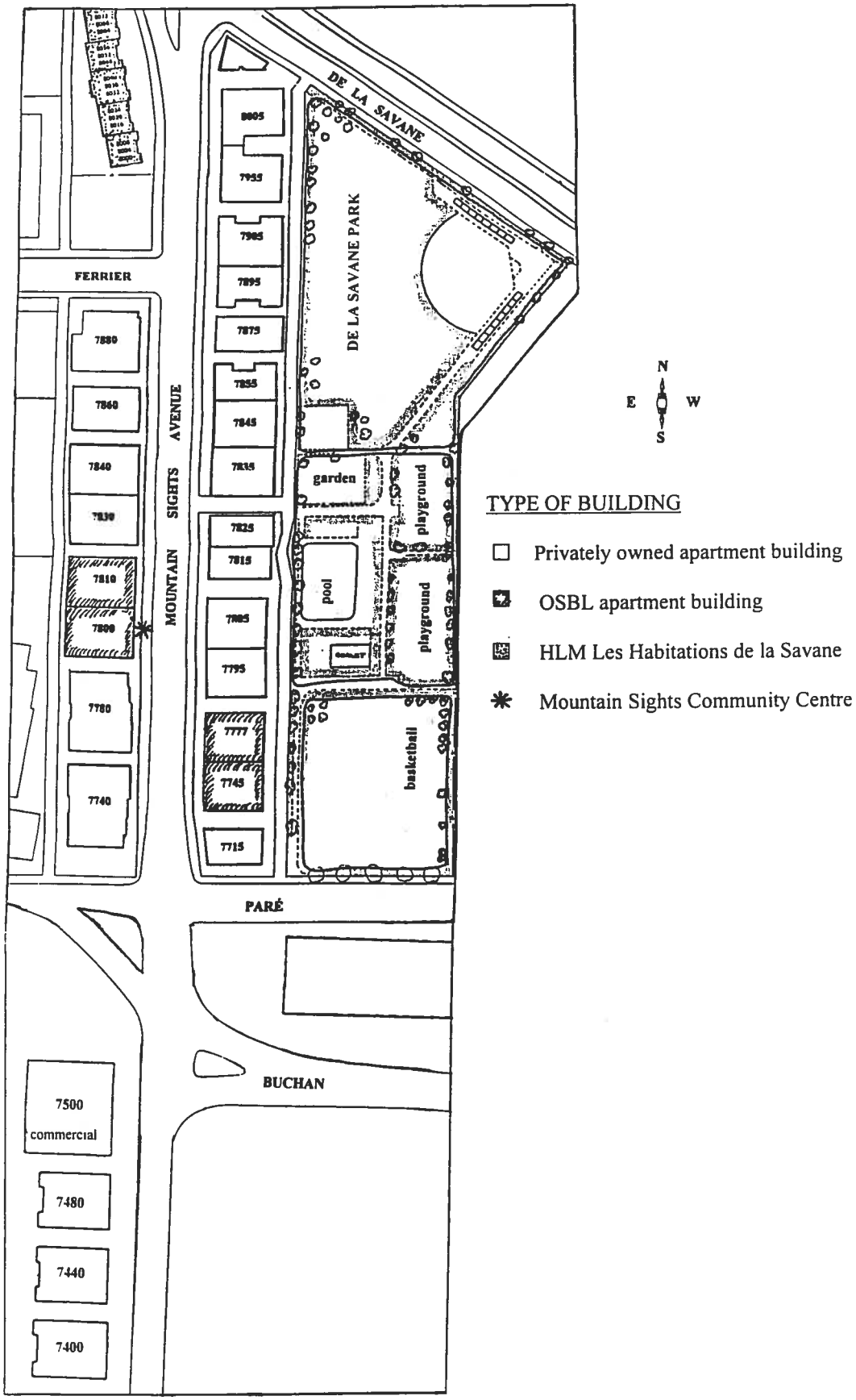


Figure 5. The neighbourhood of Mountain Sights.



A neighbourhood park, De La Savane Park, covers one city block in territory and adjoins the buildings on the eastern side of the street. This long rectangular park is entirely hemmed in by apartment buildings on one side, and by a church, a private daycare, two garages/car dealerships, an office supplies company, and four office buildings on the other side. The park dates back to the 1960's, and is based on the same design model that was used for all of the large parks in Côte des Neiges. The southern section of the park houses a chalet and recreational equipment (including playgrounds, basketball and volleyball courts, a wading pool, and a community garden) while the northern section is a wide open space with two baseball diamonds (refer to Figure 5).

Residential buildings in the neighbourhood differ considerably in their exterior architecture, ornamentation, and maintenance. Some are visibly dilapidated while others are more architecturally upscale and appear to be in excellent condition. Four buildings are subsidized housing developments owned by the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal* (SHDM) and managed by a non-profit organization (*Les Habitations communautaires*). At the intersection of Ferrier Avenue is a ten-storey apartment building called "*Le Manoir*" that towers over the others, which gives this part of the street a strangely feudal character. North of this building is a row of low income housing units (the HLM *Les Habitations de la Savane*) designed to resemble townhouses that are managed by the *Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal*.

This residential island ends abruptly at De La Savane Avenue, giving way to manufacturers, garages, and textile companies, and bordered by the high brick walls of the Jewish Cemetery. While physically this residential neighbourhood appears to be isolated and cut off from the services of Côte des Neiges North, geographically it is quite accessible. It lies right next to the Decarie Expressway (Autoroute 15), along which a boom in commercial construction has taken place over the past ten years. In addition, two subway stations (Namur and De La Savane) serve the area, both located near the Decarie Expressway service road within two blocks in either direction from the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights.

5.2.2 The Rise of a Multiethnic Immigrant Neighbourhood

According to the findings of a previous study tracking the perceptions of long-term residents to historical transformations in the neighbourhood (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002), real estate in the vicinity was originally reserved for industrial park development. In the late 1950's, however, a local businessman of Jewish origin received special dispensation from the City in order to build apartment buildings on this tract of land. These were intended to provide housing for his employees, who were mostly Eastern European Jewish and West Indian immigrants, as well as French Canadian migrants from the Gaspésie region of Quebec. In other words, the neighbourhood was originally a planned residential area for local factory workers. A green space set aside for residents was transformed into a public park in the early 1960's. The only other infrastructural provisions made were for several small local stores or services (including a dépanneur) and the eventual extension of the subway line in the 1970's to serve residents and local workers.

Most apartment buildings went up during the 1960's and 1970's, and construction on the street ended in 1988 with the construction of the HLM *Les Habitations de la Savane* on one of the last remaining vacant lots. From the 1960's to the late 1970's, this was considered to be a tidy and safe neighbourhood in good physical condition (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). However, the 1980's witnessed a spate of speculative buying, with some buildings changing hands multiple times (this situation existed in other parts of Côte des Neiges North during this time as well). Intense cockroach and rodent infestation began, as well as fires and structural problems as building maintenance declined. During the same period, an influx of individuals related to Jamaican gangs moved in to the neighbourhood, and drug-dealing, crack houses, and prostitution were abetted by absentee landlords (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). Coupled with anxiety over Quebec's possible separation from Canada under the Parti Québécois government, this triggered the out-migration of many original residents over the course of the 1980's and early 1990's.

This same trajectory also occurred in other nearby neighbourhoods in Côte des Neiges, Notre Dame de Grâce, Little Burgundy, and St. Laurent (Germain *et al*, 1995; Richardson, 1993). In Mountain Sights, this socio-environmental degradation reached a peak in the early 1990's when several murders occurred on the street. A massive police sweep in Côte des Neiges and Notre

Dame de Grâce managed to clear out most gang-related activity by the end of 1994. The intervention of community-based organizations and local residents' groups in the wake of the establishment of a CLSC service post on the street in the early 1990's led to a dramatic improvement in environmental conditions (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). This has also been the case in other Montreal neighbourhoods with similar historical trajectories (Richardson, 1993).

5.2.3 Socio-Demographics of an Immigrant Reception *and* Settlement Neighbourhood

In many ways, the socio-demographic characteristics of the population of Mountain Sights mirror those of Côte des Neiges North (particularly those of the Savane planning sector), although Mountain Sights has certain distinguishing features. The socio-demographic profile of the population of Mountain Sights presented below is based on statistics for the 1996 and 2001 Census years, obtained from the CLSC-CDN for 1996 and from a special order placed with Statistics Canada for 2001 (please refer to section 4.7.2 in Chapter 4 for references for both Census years, treatment of data, and methods of presentation). It should be kept in mind that this is a statistically very small population, and so many of the figures presented are single digits.

Like the population of Côte des Neiges North, the population of Mountain Sights is a highly diverse, fairly young, family-based population. There were 2,524 people living in the sector in 2001 (refer to Table 4), and the population increased by 17.6% between 1991 and 2001. There are probably considerably more non-permanent residents living in the area than are accounted for, since we encountered many more failed refugee claimants or long-term visitors living with relatives and friends over the course of fieldwork than Census data on non-permanent residents in the area indicates. Adults in the 25-54 age groups predominate here, just as they do in Côte des Neiges North, reflecting the fact that most immigrants arrive as adults of working age. The elderly population (over 75 years of age) has never been very large, but has in fact increased by 60% between 1996 to 2001 and is the only age group in the sector to show any real increase.

In terms of household size and family composition, the population of Mountain Sights appears to be identical to that of Côte des Neiges North, with two main exceptions. There were 1,075 households in the area in 2001 (refer to Table 5) and 10% more families were living in the Mountain Sights area than in Côte des Neiges North. As well, a significantly larger proportion of

the adult population in Mountain Sights is legally married – 54% as opposed to 45% in Côte des Neiges North, which may be a reflection of the fact that the South Asian population of Mountain Sights is larger than that of Côte des Neiges North. Extended family or inter-generational households in Mountain Sights are very important. While only 21% of people over the age of 65 in Mountain Sights lived alone in 2001, 40% do in Cote des Neiges North.

Table 4. Total population of the Mountain Sights sector, by gender and age, 1996 and 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Total population of the Mountain Sights sector, by gender and age		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Total population	2,232	2,524
By gender:		
Women	1,060 (47 %)	1,190 (47 %)
Men	1,175 (52 %)	1,335 (52 %)
By age:	**% of total pop.**	**% of total pop.**
0-4	8.7 %	8.3 %
5-9	6.2 %	6.5 %
10-14	4.4 %	5.1 %
15-19	5.6 %	4.7 %
20-24	6.4 %	7.5 %
25-29	10.7 %	9.9 %
30-34	12.7 %	11.7 %
35-39	10.9 %	10.7 %
40-44	7.3 %	8.5 %
45-54	11.2 %	10.9 %
55-64	6.9 %	6.9 %
65-74	4.9 %	3.2 %
75-84	1.5 %	2.8 %
85+	0.4 %	0.2 %

Table 5. Household composition in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Household composition in the Mountain Sights sector: households, families, and family composition		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Households	990	1,075
Household size	**% of total pop.**	**% of total pop.**
1 person	45.0 %	39.0 %
2 people	24.2 %	26.0 %
3 people	11.1 %	15.9 %
4 –5 people	15.6 %	18.0 %
6 and over	4.5 %	5.0 %
Household structure		
Individuals living alone	19.0 % (445 people)	16.6 % (420 people)
Single families	68.0 % (1,517 people)	74.6 % (1,884 people)
Relatives living together	10.0 % (100 people)	5.1 % (130 people)
Unrelated individuals living together	6.0 % (135 people)	2.2 % (55 people)
Multi-family households	1.5 % (35 people)	1.3 % (35 people)
Marital status		
Legally married	53.0 % (of adult pop.)	54.0 % (of adult pop.)
Common-law unions	2.2 % (of adult pop.)	2.9 % (of adult pop.)
Families	505	640
Average family size	3.2	3.4
Families with:		
1 child	180	225
2 children	85	140
3 or more	90	60
Single parent families		
Total	110	105
Female-headed	100	85

Available housing in the Mountain Sights sector has not kept pace with population increases, no doubt due to the declining availability of affordable housing across Montreal over the past six years, as well as to the larger family size of many newer immigrant groups. There were 1,075 dwelling units in the sector in 2001, of which 92.5% are apartment units (refer to Table 6). Almost 13% of residents reported that their apartment units were in bad condition on the 2001 Census, and rents have barely shown any increase at all between 1996 and 2001. As well, the proportion of local residents devoting over 30% of their monthly income to rent dropped from

43% in 1996 to 21% in 2001. In the sector, the average apartment is a one-bedroom unit. If one correlates family size with the size of the housing unit occupied, a pattern of over-crowding begins to emerge, as the majority of families with two or more children live in one or two bedroom apartments (refer to Table 7).

Table 6. Housing in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Housing in the Mountain Sights sector		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Total number of dwelling units	1,075	1,075
Number of dwelling units occupied	990	1,075
Type of dwelling units occupied Single family Apartment units	 55 935	 80 995
Year of construction Before 1946 Between 1946 – 1960 Between 1961 – 1970 Between 1971 – 1980 Between 1981 – 1990 After 1991	**Number of units** 10 (0.9 %) 525 (48.8 %) 445 (41.4 %) 55 (5.1 %) 40 (3.7 %) -	**Number of units** 10 (0.9 %) 525 (48.8 %) 445 (41.4 %) 55 (5.1 %) 40 (3.7 %) -
Home ownership Home owners (including condos) Tenants	 N/A	 90 (8.3 %) 985 (91.6 %)
Renovations Units needing major renovations Units needing minor renovations Units needing basic maintenance	 90 190 795	 80 230 765
Average building valuation	$ 165,620	$ 167,749
Average rent	$ 411	$ 420
Households devoting 30% or more of their monthly income to rent	43 %	21 %

Table 7. Housing units and unit occupation in the Mountain Sights sector, 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 2001

Housing units and unit occupation in the Mountain Sights sector							
Unit size	**1 ½**	**2 ½**	**3 ½**	**4 ½**	**5 ½**	**6 ½**	**7 +**
Number of occupied housing units per size	35	75	420	370	80	40	55
Household size per unit							
Household size	**1 ½**	**2 ½**	**3 ½**	**4 ½**	**5 ½**	**6 ½**	**7 +**
1 person	25	55	215	95	-	-	10
2 people	-	15	95	110	10	-	35
3 people	10	5	65	35	15	10	10
4 people	-	-	30	75	25	10	-
5 people	-	-	15	30	-	10	-
6+ people	-	-	-	25	30	10	-
total	35	75	420	370	80	40	55

The biggest discrepancy between Mountain Sights and the rest of Côte des Neiges North occurs at the level of ethnic origins. A quick look at Table 8 seems to show that some ethnic origins in the Mountain Sights sector have significantly decreased between 1996 and 2001. This does not necessarily mean that the number of people reporting these origins has decreased, as in most cases it has not. If most new arrivals coming to the sector in the period between the 1996 and the 2001 Canada Census are not of these particular ethnic origins, these groups will show a statistical decrease with respect to the total population only because the relative size of other groups has increased.

In the 2001 Canada Census, 96.8% of people residing in the Mountain Sights area declared an ethnic origin other than English or French Canadian (as opposed to the 92% in Côte des Neiges North). The largest regional ethnocultural group is South Asian, with one half (49.5%) of all residents declaring that their ethnic origins are Indian, Sri Lankan, Pakistani, Bengali, or Filipino (refer to Table 8). This group also increased by 20% between 1996 and 2001. The next largest regional group is the East Asian group (half are Chinese). Two regional groups vie for third place – West Indians and Eastern Europeans/Russians. Africans (North and sub-Saharan) and Middle Easterners tie for fourth place. The most popularly declared ethnic origin is Indian from India, declared by almost 30% of all residents living in Mountain Sights on the 2001 Census.

This group also accounts for the largest proportion of new arrivals to the sector between 1996 and 2001.

Individuals belonging to certain ethnic groups are much more prevalent in the Mountain Sights sector than they are in Côte des Neiges North. For example, South Asians only make up 14.3% of the population in the Savane sector but account for 49.5% in Mountain Sights, and Indians from India only account for 3% of the population of Cote des Neiges North, although they comprise 30% of the population of the Mountain Sights sector. Haitians and Chinese are more numerous in the Mountain Sights sector as well. These figures reflect the earlier waves of Haitian immigrants that settled in the area in the 1970's, as well as the fact that four local apartment buildings were bought by a Chinese couple in the late 1990's who have selected a predominantly Asian clientele for their buildings (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000).

Since a high percentage of the population are immigrants (62% according to Table 9), Mountain Sights can safely be called an immigrant reception area. The great majority of immigrants in Mountain Sights arrived in Canada after 1970, with almost half of them immigrating between 1991 and 1996. On the other hand, only 7.1% are the children of immigrants, and 10.1% belong to the third generation (according to the 2001 Canada Census). Immigrant flows have changed somewhat over the five year period between 1996 and 2001. Immigration from Sri Lanka has decreased considerably (reflecting declining overall immigration trends from Sri Lanka to Canada), as has immigration from El Salvador, Peru, Morocco, Vietnam, and Poland. On the other hand, immigration from China, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia has increased. In fact, prior to 1996 there were no Bulgarian or Croatian residents in the neighbourhood at all. The same is also true for new arrivals from Algeria, Iraq, and Tanzania.

In terms of visible minorities, 71% of the population reported belonging to a visible minority group in 2001, up from the 64% who reported this in 1996 (see Table 10). A much higher proportion of residents in the Mountain Sights sector reported belonging to a visible minority group than in Côte des Neiges North (where 50.5% reported this in 1996).

The presence of certain religious faiths in the Mountain Sights sector is also reflective of the relative dominance of certain ethnocultural groups (refer to Table 11). The most common religions are variants of Hinduism, Roman Catholicism, and Islam.

Table 8. Ethnic origins declared in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Ethnic origins declared in the Mountain Sights sector		
Ethnic origin	**% of total population**	
Census Year	**1996**	**2001**
Indian	21.3 %	29.1 %
Pakistani	3.3 %	2.5 %
Bengali	3.5 %	4.4 %
Sri Lankan	8.7 %	7.9 %
Filipino	3.5 %	4.7 %
Afghani	0.6 %	0.9 %
Polish	2.0 %	0.3 %
Bulgarian	-	0.9 %
Hungarian	2.6 %	0.7 %
Russian	0.6 %	1.3 %
Romanian	2.0 %	1.2 %
Croatian	-	0.5 %
Czech	0.4 %	0.9 %
Ukrainian	0.4 %	0.3 %
French	0.4 %	0.5 %
Haitian	3.0 %	3.9 %
Jamaican	2.3 %	1.3 %
Trinidadian	1.1 %	0.5 %
Barbados	0.9 %	0.4 %
St. Vincent	1.3 %	0.9 %
Chinese	4.7 %	5.1 %
Vietnamese	2.7 %	2.5 %
Cambodian	3.1 %	2.5 %
Laotian	1.3 %	0.3 %
Korean	-	0.9 %
Moroccan	0.4 %	0.9 %
Algerian	-	0.4 %
Somalian	1.5 %	0.3 %
Ghanaian	1.6 %	1.9 %
Tanzanian	-	0.4 %
Lebanese	2.0 %	0.5 %
Iranian	1.3 %	0.9 %
Turkish	0.4 %	1.3 %
Iraqi	-	0.3 %
Egyptian	0.3 %	0.7 %
Mexican	1.1 %	0.3 %
El Salvadorean	0.4 %	-
Chilean	0.6 %	0.7 %
Peruvian	1.3 %	-
Italian	1.5 %	0.3 %
Greek	3.5 %	0.5 %
French Canadian	2.0 %	2.7 %
English Canadian	0.9 %	0.5 %
Jewish	0.6 %	2.3 %
Black Canadian	3.8 %	2.1 %

Table 9. Immigration status and period of immigration in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001. Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Immigration status and period of immigration in the Mountain Sights sector		
Census Year	**1996**	**2001**
Immigration status	**% of total population**	
Born in Canada	33.6 %	32.6 %
Immigrants	42.5 %	63.5 %
Non-permanent residents	8.9 %	3.9 %
Total number of immigrants	**1,480**	**1,585**
Period of immigration	**% of immigrant population**	
Between 1996 – 2001	-	32.5 %
Between 1991 – 1995	46.9 %	25.5 %
Between 1981 – 1990	16.9 %	20.5 %
Between 1971 – 1980	11.4 %	14.5 %
Between 1961 – 1970	4.7 %	4.7 %
Before 1961	6.4 %	2.2 %
Main countries of origin for new immigrants	**Number of new immigrants arriving over a five year period**	
	1991-1996	**1996-2001**
India	170	150
Pakistan	40	10
Bangladesh	20	25
Sri Lanka	140	50
Philippines	35	30
Afghanistan	15	25
Poland	10	-
Bulgaria	-	25
Romania	15	25
Croatia	-	15
France	10	15
Haiti	10	15
Trinidad and Tobago	45	10
St. Vincent	-	5
China	55	65
Vietnam	10	-
Morocco	5	-
Egypt	10	9
Ghana	30	10
Algeria	-	10
Tanzania	-	10
Iraq	-	8
El Salvador	20	-
Chile	8	20
Peru	10	-

Table 10. Individuals declaring membership in a visible minority group in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.

Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Individuals declaring membership in a visible minority group in the Mountain Sights sector		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Visible minorities	**% of total population**	
Black	14.5 %	14.5 %
South Asian	36.0 %	37.8 %
East Asian	4.2 %	10.6 %
Filipino	2.0 %	4.2 %
Arab/Berber	3.1 %	1.7 %
Latin American	4.2 %	2.5 %

Table 11. Religious faiths in the Mountain Sights sector, 2001.

Source: Canada Census, 2001

Religious faiths in the Mountain Sights sector, 2001 Census year	
Religious faith	**% of total population**
Hinduism	29.7 %
Roman Catholicism	24.0 %
Islam	13.0 %
Buddhism	4.1 %
Judaism	2.9 %
Russian Orthodox	2.7 %
Evangelical Christian sects	2.6 %
Anglican	1.9 %
Adventist	1.6 %
Presbyterian	1.4 %
United	1.2 %
Lutheran	0.9 %
Pentecostal	0.4 %
Methodist	0.3 %
Mennonite	0.3 %
Jehovah's Witness	0.3 %
Mormon	0.3 %
No religion	10.0 %

While half of Mountain Sights residents declared being fluent in one of Canada's two official languages (English and French) on the 2001 Census, fluency in English is much more prevalent than fluency in French. One third of residents declared that they can speak only English, as compared with the 8% who can speak only French (French-only speakers have decreased in number since 1996). Around 12% of residents declared being unable to speak either English or French. This is comparable to the language situation declared by residents in Côte des Neiges North as a whole.

Table 12. Language ability in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Language ability in the Mountain Sights sector		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Maternal language	**% of total population**	
English	17.9 %	15.0 %
French	15.0 %	11.6 %
South Asian languages	32.4 %	41.1 %
East Asian languages	6.2 %	10.6 %
Spanish	4.0 %	2.7 %
Other European languages	7.8 %	4.9 %
Arabic	0.6 %	0.7 %
Official language fluency	**% of total population**	
English only	39.4 %	33.2 %
French only	13.8 %	8.5 %
Bilingual	34.4 %	45.3 %
None	11.6 %	12.2 %

The population of the Mountain Sights sector is slightly more educated than the population of Côte des North North (52% of adults in the Mountain Sights sector declared holding a post-secondary diploma on the 1996 Census as opposed to 45.5% in Côte des Neiges North). While over three-quarters of adults are employed, many are not employed in the profession they followed in their country of origin. The unemployment rate among young adults is consistent with that for Côte des Neiges in general. On the other hand, annual incomes in the Mountain Sights area are higher than the average reported in the Savane planning sector (to which

Mountain Sights belongs), although they are comparable to the average across Côte des Neiges North as a whole. A quick glance at Table 13 shows that household income in Mountain Sights has jumped 22% between 1996 and 2001, and the proportion of residents living on some form of government transfer payments has dropped. Since individual annual income has not risen all that much, this increase in household income means that there are probably more individuals now in the workforce than there were in 1996.

Table 13. Education, employment, and annual income in the Mountain Sights sector, 1996 and 2001.

Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Education, employment, and annual income in the Mountain Sights sector		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Educational level	**% of adult population (15+)**	
University or college diploma	35.7 %	35.7 %
Post-secondary trade or technical diploma	14.8 %	16.6 %
High school leaving certificate	15.0 %	11.1 %
Employment level	**% of active population (15+)**	
Employed (adults)	72.0 %	84.9 %
Unemployment rate (adults)	27.0 %	15.3 %
Unemployment rate (youths between 15-18)	20.0 %	8.0 %
Sector of employment	**% of active population (15+)**	
Tertiary sector (business, administration, clerical, retail, social and health services)	43.2 %	61.4 %
Manufacturing sector	40.0 %	24.3 %
Mechanical or construction	3.6 %	11.6 %
Annual Income	**% of adult population (15+)**	
Average individual income	$ 17,031	$ 21,304
Average household income	$ 27,036	$ 34,405
% dependent on government transfer payments	18.2 %	12.5 %

Statistics related to mobility demonstrate that the neighbourhood is also a settlement zone. There were 16% fewer people moving into or out of the sector between 1996 and 2001 than between 1991 and 1996 (refer to Table 14). Either there were fewer vacant apartments or else fewer people were choosing to move. To some extent, this could also be due to the declining vacancy rate across Montreal since the late 1990's. However, 50% of all moves between 1991 and 2001 were made by new arrivals moving directly to Mountain Sights from their country of origin. Since 9% of moves were made on the street itself, this means that 40% of all moves were moves out of the sector. Thus, since 1991 more moves were made *into* the sector than *out* of the sector.

Table 14. Mobility in the Mountain Sights sector, from 1991 to 2001.
Source: Canada Census, 1996, 2001

Mobility in the Mountain Sights sector, from 1991 to 2001		
Census year	**1996**	**2001**
Type of moves during a one year period	**Number of people moving, and as a % of the total population**	
	1995	**2000**
Total moves	580 (25.0 %)	400 (15.8 %)
Moves within sector	115 (19.0 %)	20 (5.0 %)
Moves to Canada (new arrivals)	135 (6.0 %)	110 (4.3 %)
Moves from another province	80 (3.5 %)	10 (0.4 %)
Type of moves during a five year period	**Number of people moving, and as a % of the total population**	
	1991-1996	**1996-2001**
Total moves	1,370 (61.0 %)	1,150 (45.0 %)
Moves within sector	200 (14.5 %)	100 (8.6 %)
Moves to Canada (new arrivals)	620 (27.7 %)	515 (20.4 %)
Moves from another province	160 (7.1 %)	65 (2.5 %)

Since the figures for mobility in Côte des Neiges North in 2001 were not available at the time of writing, we can still refer to the five year period between 1991 and 1996, where the total number of moves taking place in Côte des Neiges North and Mountain Sights is the same. Only 19% of all the moves in Côte des Neiges North in 1996 were made by new arrivals coming to Canada, as opposed to 48% in Mountain Sights. It also bears note that in both Mountain Sights and Côte des Neiges North, half of the total population are established immigrants. In both areas, there seems to be a core of about 50% of all residents who stay in their sector of residence for at least five to

ten years. This shows that Mountain Sights and Côte des Neiges North as a whole are settlement zones as well as immigrant reception areas.

Higher levels of mobility across Montreal tend to occur in areas with a greater concentration of tenants (Ville de Montréal, 2003). However, as a whole, 48% of the population of Montreal moved during the same five year periods (1991-1996 and 1996-2001). Therefore, the populations of Mountain Sights and Côte des Neiges North are not necessarily more mobile than the general population of Montreal, especially in areas where home owners are in the minority. The idea that Mountain Sights is a settlement zone is very important in our case, for settlement is considered to be a major indicator of residents' willingness to invest in their neighbourhood (Goldsmith, 2002).

5.2.4 Attachment and Volunteerism

A fairly substantial tradition of volunteerism exists in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002), just as it exists in Côte des Neiges North (Germain and Sweeney, 2000; Blanc, 1995). The characteristics of the voluntary sector in Mountain Sights fall into three main categories: neighbourhood attachment, leisure group activities, and volunteer action and intervention.

a) Neighbourhood attachment

Sweeney and Blanc (2000, 2002) showed that long-term residents of Mountain Sights felt very attached to the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, and many chose to stay there despite their ability to buy a home in other parts of Montreal. They stay because of the sense of cultural comfort and enjoyment they feel when living among those of their own ethnocultural group. This feeling is particularly strong for Indian residents in Mountain Sights, as Vaillancourt discovered in her 1978 study on the Indian community in the neighbourhood. Long-term residents also stay because they like living in a neighbourhood where "everyone is a minority" (Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002). They often refer fondly to "the village of Mountain Sights", and appreciate the existence of nearby services such as local retail stores and mini-malls, the Mountain Sights Community Centre, the park, proximity to public transportation, and in some cases, proximity to their place of employment. Over the years, this sense of attachment, of concern for the local

environment and for their community's welfare (no matter how they define 'community'), has often been translated into participation in local voluntary activities, from leisure groups to volunteering with local community groups and the formation of residents' associations.

b) Leisure group activities

Quite a few 'private clubs' and informal leisure associations have existed in the neighbourhood over the years, usually based along ethnocultural lines and located in an individual's apartment, in the basement of an apartment building, or in an apartment unit rented solely for that purpose. For example, in the 1970's and 80's several small West Indian leisure groups existed (the Barbados Women's Bridge Group, the Black-Out committee). Informal men's clubs have always been common, ranging from social clubs to gambling and betting parlours. Prayer groups also exist (a Pakistani *mussallah*, Hindu sect prayer groups, Evangelical prayer groups led by a preacher).

These ethno-specific activity group networks are best exemplified by those belonging to the Indian community. Claire Vaillancourt (1978) conducted "the Patel Project" between 1977-1978, which was a study of the 50 Indian families living in the neighbourhood at that time (there were only 600 families in total living there in 1978). This Indian community was mainly composed of people with the last name "Patel", not because they were related, but because they all came from the same region in India. They organized sporting events, cultural evenings, and festivals in the park. They also requested municipal permission to open a Hindu cultural and prayer centre on the street (permission was denied) because for them, Mountain Sights was "Indian Alley", and deserved to have all the cultural services deemed necessary to the maintenance of their culture of origin.

c) Volunteer action and intervention

Residents and local community group workers have invested in the neighbourhood since the late 1970's, mainly in terms of housing and environmental improvement (details are provided in the next section). Several residents' groups have been working on socio-environmental planning matters in conjunction with local community organizations and certain public institutions since

the early 1990's. Residents' groups of any sort are a prime indicator of the store of social capital existing in an area, as Breton (1997: 6) notes:

> "A community has social capital if it can count on the contribution of members to achieve certain projects or to tackle problems that arise. [...] Not all forms of social participation necessarily produce social capital. A distinction must be made between activities which, although social, produce private benefits, and those which seek to bring about benefits for all and can assist the community or society as a whole. These can include participation in protest movements seeking to bring about social, political, economic, or cultural change."

This trajectory of resident and community group involvement in local planning and environmental improvement actions in Mountain Sights mirrors that of certain other micro-zones in Côte des Neiges (Barclay-Goyer-Bedford) and Notre Dame de Grâce (Walkley), although the majority of streets and sectors of Cote des Neiges do not have this history of resident volunteerism and intervention in the local environment. However, it is interesting to note that this type of involvement is often found in minority or marginal neighbourhoods in North America and Britain that are home to fairly sizeable West Indian or South Asian populations (Feldman, Stall, and Wright, 1998; Vertovec, 1996; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997).

According to Robert Putnam (1993), the social capital of a community or neighbourhood depends on the involvement of citizens in local associations, be these sports associations, cultural groups, or religious, political, and charitable groups. In his study comparing social capital and involvement in community or volunteer activities in areas of Southern and Northern Italy, he concluded that where such groups exist, the social capital needed to promote investment and development also exists. These basic elements of social capital do exist in Mountain Sights if one looks at the wide variety of leisure and environmental intervention groups that have existed over the past 25 years. It is also interesting to note that these dynamics bring to mind Parekh's (2000) notion of political community, where adherence to a common political community helps provide cohesiveness despite cultural diversity, above and beyond the idea of social capital. As we will see during the presentation of our study results, Parekh's notion of political community and Amin's (2002) notions of micro-publics and agonistic politics dominate in the domain of planning amidst diversity.

5.2.5 Planning Efforts in the Neighbourhood of Mountain Sights

In this section, we will describe the planning efforts that have taken place in our study site since the late 1970's. These planning efforts have been carried out at different levels by different types of actors – from residents to community group workers and public authorities. The goal of this section is not to analyze the actions or approaches used, since this analysis will occur in subsequent chapters. It is merely to provide the reader with an overview of the type of planning activities that have occurred, in order to provide a context in which to situate our study findings.

Information in this section was obtained from a myriad of sources, ranging from the annual or quarterly reports of different community-based organizations and public institutions, internal documents, actors' personal notes, meeting notes and other documents prepared by residents' groups, previous studies, project reports, and information gleaned during fieldwork for this research project. Some of this information was provided on the condition of confidentiality (internal reports and personal notes, in particular). Only the most relevant references are indicated in this section, in the interest of confidentiality and for reading ease.

a) The planning efforts of community group workers and public authorities

The planning and improvement efforts carried out by actors with community-based organizations, municipal departments, and various public institutions since the 1970's have centered around three main elements: housing, public safety and security, and interventions in the socio-physical environment.

Housing

Housing was a mobilizing issue in the neighbourhood from the late 1970's on. In 1979, l'OEIL (*l'Organisation d'éducation et d'information en logement*) began intervening in the neighbourhood in order to help stem cockroach and vermin infestations, poor garbage disposal practices, and growing landlord disinvestment. In 1988, the OMHM (*Office municipal d'habitation de Montréal*) began construction on low income housing units for families (the HLM *Les Habitations de la Savane*) on the vacant lot between Ferrier and De La Savane Avenues. This municipal agency did not collaborate with other community groups working in

the area, and in fact, very few Mountain Sights residents were able to obtain an apartment in the newly-constructed buildings. The construction of the HLM *Les Habitations De La Savane* in 1988 prompted a small group of residents and workers with l'OEIL to try and create a housing cooperative, but the project was not accepted by the *Société d'habitation du Québec* for financial reasons.

However, a more positive municipal attitude towards housing cooperatives arose with the institution of the *Société d'habitation et de développement de Montréal* (SHDM) in 1989, which had the mandate of purchasing and renovating dilapidated buildings across Montreal in order to convert them into cooperatives, with a side objective of creating greater social cohesiveness in the surrounding neighbourhood. Following the success of SHDM building conversions on Walkley Avenue in the early 1990's, some residents of Mountain Sights and organizations such as the Jamaican Association, the SHDM, the CLSC-CDN, PROMIS, l'OEIL and the police began to put pressure on the City to become involved there as it had on Walkley. In 1991, the SHDM received the go-ahead for building purchase and renovation. A feasibility study was contracted out to ROMEL (*Regroupement des organismes du Montréal ethnique pour le logement*). Becoming aware that the needs of residents, most of whom were new immigrants, also included basic knowledge on domestic and environmental practices in Canada, ROMEL decided to enlarge its mandate to include educating residents on the 'proper' way to live in North American-style apartments – how to clean the apartment, what uses and habits to avoid, how to try and prevent infestations, the proper way to dispose of garbage, etc. From 1992 until 1994, ROMEL set up a local office in an apartment on Mountain Sights, in order to get a coop started and to provide this education and counselling service.

The SHDM finally bought four buildings on the street in 1993, where SHDM officials hoped to create a coop. ROMEL, l'OEIL, and the SHDM conducted an initial meeting with residents of these buildings in August 1993. After several additional meetings, however, most residents decided that they would prefer to have the buildings converted to the OSBL format (managed by a non-profit organization) instead of a coop, since most residents did not want to be responsible for building management (only 15 residents actually signed up for the coop). The process of renovating the buildings began in 1994. These were the first buildings in Côte des Neiges to be converted into an OSBL format (Barclay followed soon after). The SHDM followed the same philosophy as it did when intervening on Walkley. It purchased buildings that were somewhat

distant from one another, in order to provide a stabilizing framework within which other landlords might be encouraged to begin renovating their buildings. The SHDM was also instrumental in encouraging the City to improve its garbage collection service, since at that time some garbage contractors were avoiding the street due to an increase in criminal and gang-related activities in the neighbourhood. Once the renovations were completed, a non-profit organization called *Les Habitations communautaires* was created in 1995 to manage all of the SHDM's OSBL buildings in Côte des Neiges. At this point, ROMEL closed its office on the street and the CLSC-CDN and PROMIS took over ROMEL's popular education mandate.

ROMEL has recently become active on the street once again. In the spring of 2001, the director met with a group of residents and janitors who requested ROMEL's assistance with educating tenants on housing issues and with the formation of their own residents' group. ROMEL also helped the *Régie régional de santé et des services sociaux* conduct a study in Côte des Neiges in 2001 on environmental quality and conditions (in apartment buildings in particular), and set up meetings between field workers with this organization and residents of Mountain Sights.

L'OEIL has continued to work on popular education in Mountain Sights. In 1995, it held a press conference with members of the local Residents' Association in a building in very dilapidated condition on Mountain Sights in order to draw media attention to landlord irresponsibility and to the conditions in which some tenants were living. The fallout from this media coverage was regular visits from municipal building inspectors and the landlord's cooperation with cockroach extermination efforts. More recently, between 1999 and 2000 the CLSC-CDN, l'OEIL, and the Residents' Association did quite a bit of door-to-door work in several buildings in quite poor condition in order to encourage tenants to demand the services of a building inspector and to force the building owner to address a serious vermin problem.

Public safety and security

The SHDM was confronted by many illegal uses in their four buildings after purchasing them in 1993, and this came to a head following several shoot-outs between gang members and police. The Côte des Neiges police force began to create a program to restore order to the neighbourhood in 1993 after extensive meetings with residents and community group workers. On December 1, 1994, the police tactical unit closed off the street and SWAT teams arrested 25

people. Then on January 1, 1995, a police shoot-out on the street killed an innocent man (the Trevor Kelly incident), and residents protested actively. Several community meetings were held at the instigation of a local policewoman, and participants included residents, building janitors, the police, the Jamaican Association, the CLSC-CDN, the SHDM, PROMIS, l'OEIL, local elected representatives, and the regional Sports and Recreation Department office. Out of these meetings, where animated discussions on all aspects of life in the neighbourhood took place, the seeds of the first Residents' Association were planted. The need to redevelop and improve the environment emerged as a priority – this included redeveloping the park, restoring environmental cleanliness and public security, renovating dilapidated buildings, increasing traffic control, and providing greater recreational opportunities for residents.

In order to restore public security in a sustainable manner, a local police team was assigned to the area, which was made easier with the transition to the community policing model in Montreal in 1998 (under the community policing model, larger district stations were decentralized into a network of neighbourhood service posts). Station 24 was formed to serve the territory of Mountain Sights and the adjacent Town of Mount Royal. The involvement of the police with the first Residents' Association and with the Mountain Sights Community Centre was maintained after this transition. In fact, these actions correspond with the tenets of the community policing model, which is based on problem solving through the creation of partnerships with local residents, community groups, and institutions (SPCUM, 2003).

When Station 24 was opened in 1998, the police conducted a survey of 301 local households in Mountain Sights in order to assess residents' feelings of safety. Half felt that the neighbourhood was very safe, and only 6% felt that the neighbourhood was "dangerous". Most felt very secure walking around the neighbourhood and the park by day, but 35% felt unsafe walking around at night (42% in the park). The majority (89.5%) felt that there was very little crime in the neighbourhood, but paradoxically, 60.1% said that there was a lot of break-ins, 30.3% noted that there was a lot of uncleanliness and vandalism, 41.2% believed that traffic safety was an issue, 16% felt that there was a lot of violence, and 17.6% said there was a lot of drug-related activity.

According to statistics released by the Montreal Urban Community Police Force's *Division de planification et des orientations stratégiques* (SPCUM, 2000), criminal activities of all kinds dropped by roughly 20% a year in the area of Station 24 (Mountain Sights and Town of Mount

Royal) between 1995 and 2000. For example, between 1998 and 1999, there were 9 sexual assaults, 159 reported thefts, 466 break-ins, 448 car thefts, 896 petty thefts, and 11 drug-related offences. Almost 70% of individuals arrested were Caucasian, and 31% belonged to visible minority groups. Ten percent of individuals arrested were juveniles. Only 9.6% of crimes were committed by residents living within the territory of Station 24. In fact, the amount of currently reported criminal activities in the sector (break-ins, domestic violence, theft, vandalism, assault, etc.) is not much different from that reported in most Montreal neighbourhoods (SPCUM, 2003).

Since the beginning of 2000, the police have become more active once again at the request of the Residents' Association, but this time in terms of traffic control, undesirable behaviour in public spaces, and a resurgence of gang activity in De La Savane Park. Tamil youth gangs that originated in Toronto had begun to form chapters in Côte des Neiges, and several machete fights between gangs had occurred in De La Savane Park. A police sweep took place in Mountain Sights in the spring of 2000, in conjunction with a larger sweep across Montreal and Toronto, which arrested local gang members. A third investigation during that year netted the person responsible for many apartment break-ins, hold-ups, and purse-snatchings in the area.

Renewed emphasis on safety issues led the public security organization TANDEM to include De La Savane Park in their exploratory walk of parks in Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce. According to TANDEM's project report (2001), the major concerns voiced by female residents of Mountain Sights who participated in the walk of De La Savane Park revolved around the threat of crime and personal violence in the park. Another major issue was poor lighting at night, particularly around the entranceway and the children's playgrounds. Other concerns included a lack of 'safety' areas (no public telephone booths, few exits from the park, lack of vision from one end of the park to the other due to the chalet), and insufficient police presence in the park. To most participants, the park seemed to be fairly well maintained and in good condition, and most felt that park users acted in acceptable ways. They felt very safe during times when the park was heavily used and when there were people in the community garden, but less safe when the park was empty.

In August 2001, the police met with residents, members of the Residents' Association, and members of the Women's Group to discuss their public safety action plan and to arrive at a workable consensus on what actions the police could take to improve traffic safety and park

security. Since then, local constables regularly patrol the park in order to deter criminal gangs from re-establishing a foothold in the park and to control disorderly behaviour (alcohol-related in particular). Police officers also regularly set up speed traps at both ends of the neighbourhood and get involved in community activities, particularly with youth.

Improvements to the physical environment

The regional Sports and Recreation Department office has been actively involved in the neighbourhood since the first large community meetings of the early 1990's. Its field officers have provided residents with advice on how to create associations and committees. In particular, they have provided the Residents' Association with the support and technical assistance required to redevelop and request recreational equipment in the park, and have also helped the Residents' Association, the CLSC-CDN, PROMIS, and l'OEIL to lobby for and implement a community garden and to create a Community Garden Committee. In 2002, at the request of the Residents' Association, the regional Sports and Recreation office has been providing the technical assistance and support needed to convert the park chalet into a youth and recreation centre.

The municipal Parks Department has also been involved in public space and environmental planning efforts in Mountain Sights. In 1993, the federal government enacted new safety standards for playgrounds. Since then, the City has been in the process of re-doing all the children's playgrounds in public parks across Montreal on a case-by-case basis. Sustained pressure from the Residents' Association, a local elected representative, and the local Sports and Recreation office convinced the program director at the Parks Department to bump De La Savane Park up to the top of the list. The children's playgrounds were re-done according to a design conceived by architects hired by the Parks Department. The playground for children between the ages of 2 to 5 was completed in 1999, and that for children aged 6 to 12 in 2001.

Going back in time to 1992, the Parks Department had just finalized a long-term plan to update Montreal parks. De La Savane Park was initially very low down on the list since the Parks Department considered that larger parks with little infrastructure and those in targeted regions should have priority (De La Savane Park did not fall into either of these categories). However, the Parks Planning Division had already noted that the sector of Côte des Neiges North between Jean Talon Boulevard and the Town of Mount Royal was "a sector that was deficient in public

parks and green spaces" (Ville de Montréal, 1992), as per the *Service de l'habitation et du developpement urbain*'s classification system for neighbourhood parks (De La Savane Park is classified as a neighbourhood park - one that serves residents within a 400 metre radius). Residents' groups and other organizations (such as the CLSC-CDN and PROMIS) lobbied the Parks Department under this premise, and after much effort obtained a reorientation of the baseball diamond in 1993, a basketball court in 1994, a volleyball court in 1995, a skating rink in 1998, renovations to the chalet and wading pool in 1999, plus many improvements to park infrastructure (walkways, lighting, removal of heavily treed areas, replanting, etc.) between 1998 and 2000. It bears note here that the regional Parks Operations and Maintenance division has been very supportive of the actions of the Residents' Association, and its director was one of the driving forces behind the construction of the community garden in 1999 (details are provided in the next section).

In August 2000, the Parks Department conducted a large-scale survey of Montreal park users and their needs called the *Profil de la clientèle des parcs montréalais* (Di Genova, 2001). In De La Savane Park, 64 park users were interviewed. Findings showed that that the park is heavily used by children, teenagers, and adults between the ages of 20 to 40, but very little by seniors. Most users (83%) live near the park, which reinforces its formal designation as a neighbourhood park. The most important activities that users reported practising in the park are "relaxing" and social activities. The next most common activities are sports and use of park equipment (playgrounds, for example). The researcher carrying out the study calculated that park equipment in De La Savane Park is used to 100% of its capacity, if not more. The baseball diamond area is also heavily used, but rarely for baseball (reported uses were cricket, soccer, group picnics, other informal group activities). One third of users interviewed wanted more or different services in the park (such as access to toilets, greater cleanliness, more play equipment for children, an adult swimming pool, a soccer field, better lighting, more water fountains, more picnic tables, increased surveillance). Very few complaints were recorded, even though many irregular uses were observed (dogs off-leash, park equipment being used for totally different purposes, littering, broken glass, non-customary leisure uses). Most users (85%) reported feeling comfortable in the park and came to the park frequently (one third came every day, 25% came three or four times a week, and 25% twice a week). The park was heavily frequented in the afternoon and evening, but poorly frequented in the mornings and after 11 pm at night. In fact, this study compares De La Savane Park very favourably with respect to other parks in Côte des

Neiges North. This particular study shows that user satisfaction seems to have increased tremendously since Blanc (1995) first studied similar aspects of park use in the early 1990's.

In 1999, Mountain Sights was named one of Montreal's "*quartiers sensibles*" under the *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* program designed to 'rehabilitate' disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Montreal. Along with Mountain Sights, other targeted neighbourhoods in Côte des Neiges were Barclay-Goyer-Bedford, Linton, and Bouchette. All these neighbourhoods were those where an active residents' association or community-based organization was present with whom the City could collaborate. The Mountain Sights Community Centre and Residents' Association were asked to submit a brief outlining their funding needs (the program only funded certain things, such as the activities of local groups and environmental improvement efforts). Their request for renovations to, and expansion of, the Community Centre was accepted, and renovations were carried out by architects hired by the City in 2000-2001. The Community Centre also received funds to employ a permanent coordinator (the coordinator was previously funded by the CLSC-CDN and PROMIS on a part-time basis), although this funding was drastically cut in 2001 as the political climate hardened. However, the appointment in late 2001 of an elected incumbent who prioritized the work of the Mountain Sights Residents' Association led to an increase in funding in 2002-2003, although this was slashed once again in early 2004.

Under the City-wide *Quartiers sensibles/Quartiers ciblés* program, an environmental cleanliness and recycling/garbage collection project was sub-contracted out to the different Éco-Quartiers across Montreal (the Éco-Quartiers fall under the auspices of the Public Works Department). The Éco-Quartier Cote des Neiges was mandated to implement a recycling and waste management project in the "*quartiers sensibles*" of Côte des Neiges North. However, this project, although very successful in French and English Canadian neighbourhoods and somewhat successful in the neighbourhoods of Barclay-Goyer-Bedford and Linton in Côte des Neiges, was not well received nor very successful in Mountain Sights (the reasons for these successes and failures will be explored during our presentation and analysis of interview findings).

Since the mid-1990's, the Éco-Quartier Côte des Neiges had been helping the Mountain Sights Women's Group and the Residents' Association with their environmental cleanliness and beautification campaigns, providing equipment, advice, flowers and shrubs. Because of this pre-existing relationship between the Éco-Quartier and local residents' groups, the director of Éco-

Quartier Cote des Neiges decided to 'join' the Mountain Sights Residents' Association in 2000 in order to help facilitate the implementation of Éco-Quartier's recycling and waste management project. This project had two objectives: to convert households to recycling using green boxes and to institute black box collection practices among janitors. Accordingly, field workers with Éco-Quartier visited building janitors to explain that "recycling was coming to Mountain Sights" and to describe how these janitors were supposed to implement it. Most building janitors refused to implement the project, however, especially when Éco-Quartier attempted to convert building waste management systems to black boxes (large black bins on wheels), designed to be stored in building garages or basements and then wheeled out to the curb for twice-weekly garbage collection. With the failure of this project and the creation of bad feelings all around, Éco-Quartier withdrew from the Residents' Association.

One of the clues to the failure of this project in Mountain Sights is provided by a study of waste management problems in all the "*quartiers sensibles*" of Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce prepared for the regional Public Works office by the consulting firm Chamard and Associates (2001). This study found that implementing recycling and black box collection was difficult due to the terrain and the existing waste management culture of Mountain Sights. Only half of all janitors in Mountain Sights were cooperating with Éco-Quartier's project. These participating janitors were very frustrated by the improper use of recycling containers (tenants were leaving all their household garbage in them) and the difficulty of using black boxes on steep driveways and in inaccessible basement areas. In terms of overall garbage disposal, most janitors in the neighbourhood complained that improper waste disposal among tenants was a common problem (apartment disposal bins were often too full and tenants just left their garbage bags nearby, garbage was sometimes not being bagged at all, or unsuitable items were being placed in the garbage). They also complained that garbage pickup was not always on time and according to the norm, but many said that they realized this was sometimes simply due to the vast quantities of garbage to be collected (too much garbage for the trucks to transport). Overall cleanliness in the neighbourhood was rated medium by the authors of this study, and trace odours and presence of vermin were noted. On the other hand, the study concluded that the garbage situation has shown a marked improvement since 1991, with a 75% reduction in problems associated with poor waste management practices between 1991 and 2001.

In 2002, continued pressure by the Residents' Association led the Director of the regional Public Works office to meet with the Residents' Association to discuss these study results and to find out what the most pressing waste management and infrastructural problems in the neighbourhood were. An agreement was reached on the following items: reconstruction of the street in the spring of 2002, construction of special cement bases for garbage bins at the sides of apartment buildings (thus overcoming the problem of wheeling bins up steep driveways), help in providing a coordinated effort to deal with the on-going cockroach and vermin problem, and provision of technical support for door-to-door waste management awareness campaigns.

b) The planning efforts of residents' associations and collaborators

Some of the details and actions of the various residents' associations and groups in Mountain Sights have been outlined in the previous section, since residents' planning efforts are interwoven with those of community group workers and public authorities. This section will bring these disparate threads together in an overview of the planning interventions carried out by residents' groups in Mountain Sights.

The first Residents' Association is formed

The roots of the first Residents' Association extend back to 1979, when several residents (janitors and tenants) became involved with l'OEIL in order to try and create a coop in local buildings. Their door-to-door work convinced other residents to also join up. Concerned over the increase in criminal activity and violence in the area, this small group of residents later joined forces with community group workers, SHDM personnel, municipal actors, and the police in order to create a task force to bring peace to the neighbourhood. The fallout was the huge police sweep of December 1994. Following this incident, this coalition organized several meetings with local residents over the next few months in the park chalet and in a nearby restaurant, which eventually led to the creation of the first Residents' Association.

The role of the CLSC-CDN in mobilizing residents and encouraging the formation of these residents' groups is highly significant. In 1992, the CLSC-CDN established a local service centre on the street. This pilot project was initiated under the CLSC's Community Oriented Primary Care program, which was a program developed by the World Health Organization (WHO) for

use in developing countries. Under this popularist approach, health workers base their interventions on needs expressed by local populations, who are encouraged to mobilize around these projects. Concerned that many Côte des Neiges residents (immigrants in particular) were not using the services of the CSLC, the "neighbourhood intervention program" was proposed as a way of bringing the CLSC to its clients. Mountain Sights was chosen as the site of the first pilot project for three reasons: 1. the population was sufficiently large enough to warrant a service centre; 2. health problems (especially among newborns and young children) were considered to be serious; and 3. this population was also considered to be the most physically and socially isolated population in Côte des Neiges North. The CLSC-CDN won the *Prix André Tétrault* in 1995 for their pilot project on Mountain Sights.

This service centre was housed in an apartment over the Indian restaurant on the corner of Mountain Sights and Paré Avenues, and local women were encouraged to drop in anytime to voice their concerns to the nurse and other social workers. The Women's Group, which has had a constant core of 22 women over the years, was formed when PROMIS, a large immigrant settlement organization in Côte des Neiges, joined forces with this new CLSC outpost. Initially intended to empower women who were dealing with domestic violence, meetings rapidly turned to environmental beautification projects (improving the landscape through planting flowers and shrubs and cleaning up garbage and litter) and to issues of housing quality. A coordinator, hired in March 1995 by PROMIS to help animate these meetings, expanded her job duties to help form a Janitors' Group, whose members were drawn from among those who had first lobbied for coop formation and for the institution of a multi-level task force in the 1980's and early 90's.

In the same year, the CLSC-CDN applied to the City for a permit to install their outpost in one of the SHDM buildings. A feasibility study conducted by a local resident interning at the CLSC found that the majority of residents wished to have the CLSC outpost expanded into a community centre. However, the CLSC's request for an occupancy permit for a community centre was not approved at first, since authorities with the City's Urban Planning Division did not feel that institutional uses were appropriate in a residentially-zoned area (the CLSC outpost was formerly located in a mixed-use zone). After much representation from the CLSC and other organizations (particularly the SHDM), a permit was approved for a 'community room' rather than a community centre, and the CLSC outpost (renamed the Mountain Sights Community Room) moved into a ground floor apartment in one of the newly renovated SHDM buildings. It

was not renamed the Mountain Sights Community Centre until 2000, when it was granted charitable status.

As environmental concerns rose to the top of the list for both the Women's Group and the Janitors' Group, these groups began to organize environmental improvement projects separately and together. These projects included street and park cleaning bees, door-to-door education campaigns on proper garbage disposal and waste management, attempts at landlord sensitization, and lobbying efforts geared towards improving traffic safety. Over time, these two groups began to realize that they would have to become more vocal and activist if sustainable changes were to be made. In late 1995, these groups held a press conference in a building in very dilapidated condition on Mountain Sights in order to draw media attention to landlord irresponsibility and to the conditions under which tenants were living. At the same time, they began to put pressure on the City to have regular visits from building inspectors. The media was very sympathetic to their cause, and the City sent municipal building inspectors to these buildings, helped coordinate large-scale cockroach exterminations, and began to fine delinquent landlords.

In early 1997, the most active members of the Women's Group and the Janitors' Group formed the first Residents' Association, which began to tackle the most pressing and difficult physical environmental problems. The Janitors' Group has since disbanded, but the Women's Group remains active, although their concerns tend more towards social matters and environmental beautification. The first Residents' Association had seven members (three male janitors and four women), of Black Canadian, English Canadian, West Indian, Haitian, Sri Lankan, and Filipino descent. The activities of this first Residents' Association will be highlighted shortly.

A period of turbulence: the second Residents' Association is formed

In late 2000, the Mountain Sights Community Centre was granted charitable status and a permanent Board of Directors was appointed. During this period, internal conflict led the coordinator of the Community Centre to resign and contributed to the dissolution of the first Residents' Association. Following this, one member of the first Residents' Association moved to Ontario, another moved to another area of Montreal, and the others no longer participate. In the spring of 2001, a second Residents' Association was formed by women who had been peripherally involved in the actions of the first one. The second Residents' Association is

composed entirely of women from Haiti, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Mexico. This group has a less confrontational approach than the previous one did, and its members prefer to work within existing political channels instead of against them.

At the time that this second Residents' Association was starting up, however, another one was also in the making. One resident began drumming up support for a new group that would operate on the original model – a more confrontational coalition of janitors and residents that would also include building owners. Since Fall 2002, this group has been operating independently of the Mountain Sights Community Centre, where the Residents' Association is based. This is mainly a discussion and sharing group for the moment, one that tries to conceive of ways to improve daily conditions for janitors, building owners, and residents through mutual aid.

Despite their different origins and internal politics, however, all these groups have a shared interest in improving the local environment.

The environmental planning strategies and actions of local residents' groups

The first Residents' Association developed a six-point action plan for environmental improvement very early on, which has continued to serve as a guide for local planning efforts. Planning strategies and related actions include: improvements to the park, improvements to the built and physical environment, environmental cleanliness, reduction of cockroach and vermin infestation, improvements to public safety and security, and provision of recreational and community facilities.

i) improvements to the park

The parks dossier was inherited from the Women's Group and the Janitors' Group. As we saw previously, the Residents' Association and its various partners (the CLSC-CDN, PROMIS, l'OEIL) had obtained many infrastructural changes in De La Savane Park. These include the reorientation of the baseball diamond, a basketball court, a volleyball court, a skating rink, renovations to the chalet and wading pool, better walkways, improved lighting, removal of heavily treed and overgrown areas, replanting, a community garden, etc.

In the spring of 1998, the Mayor of Montreal, Pierre Bourque, was invited to tour De La Savane Park with members of his staff, and the Mayor (a botanist by profession) spent an afternoon in the park with members of the Residents' Association, going over their concerns and pointing out certain aspects that he himself considered worthy of improvement (litter and garbage bins, in particular). Following his visit, employees with the Parks Planning Division and the regional Parks Operations and Maintenance Division paid several visits to the area in order to help members of the Residents' Association improve park landscaping and find the best site for new garbage bins and benches. Other improvements, such as renovations to the chalet and park infrastructural changes were implemented or redesigned according to plans submitted by the Residents' Association and a local elected representative. These plans included placement of lighting, elimination of visual obstructions (overgrown shrubbery and trees), placement of benches, redesign of walkways, and delimitation of concrete areas surrounding the chalet.

The most controversial element has been the De La Savane Community Garden. This dossier was initially started by the Women's Group and other organizations (PROMIS and the CLSC-CDN, among others) in 1995, and was taken over by the Residents' Association. Although these groups considered various locations around the neighbourhood, the only available space for a community garden appeared to be in De La Savane Park. The Parks Department was opposed to community gardens in public parks, since these are private uses of public space. For this reason, the Parks Department refused to consider this request, especially at a time when the budget for creating new community gardens had been frozen. The Residents' Association and its partners refused to back down. Although they had the support of the regional Sports and Recreation Department office, the Éco-Quartier CDN, and a local elected representative, the Parks Department would not bend. Then the regional Parks Operations and Maintenance division in Côte des Neiges received a new director who was very sympathetic to their cause. With his internal lobbying, and after repeated visits to the Parks Department and to City Hall, the Parks Department finally relented, and the community garden was built in the spring of 1999. The architectural conception for the community garden was prepared by a landscape architect with the Parks Department, but vetted and redesigned after negotiations with the Residents' Association. The community garden is managed by a Community Garden Committee that was created for this purpose in 1998 (this seven member committee is composed of two men and five women, all of South Asian descent).

On the downside, the Parks Department has not seriously considered other wishes voiced by local residents for things such as: a dog run, private seating areas for women, creation of picnic and barbecue areas, creation of a soccer field, creation of a cricket field, increased safety and surveillance in the park in the form of physical design and the presence of a park supervisor (full time park supervisors were eliminated in 1985 across the City of Montreal), a community-run committee that would oversee chalet management and park activities, an adult swimming pool, a larger or second community garden, conversion of the alley adjoining the park into a green space, and creation of a gathering place in the park such as a flowering garden or a plaza with a fountain. Part of the problem contributing to this oversight has been the dissolution of the first Residents' Association and the creation of the second Residents' Association. The other part of the problem lies in the vetting process that occurs during the decision-making process within these residents' associations, where the desires of some residents are not prioritized. These residents have therefore approached the City on their own as individuals, not as part of a lobby group. These dynamics will be explored further during our presentation of interview results.

ii) improvements to the built and physical environment

The poor overall condition of many apartments and buildings was another dossier tackled by the Women's Group and the Janitors' Group before being picked up by the Residents' Association. From 1995 on the Residents' Association and its partners did outreach among tenants, janitors, and landlords, in order to help sensitize these actors to the importance of maintaining and renovating building interiors and exteriors. Subsequently, several landlords requested funding from the City of Montreal under the Renovations Subsidy Program and were able to make some needed improvements to their buildings. Others declined to participate. One major improvement has been to the interior lighting and configuration of common areas in some buildings, notably in garages and laundry rooms, which the Residents' Association argued were unsafe for women and children. Other aspects of building safety, such as removal of fire hazards and reparation of lobby security systems, met only with partial success. Landlords would agree to make these repairs after receiving a notice from a building inspector called in by the Residents' Association, but would not follow through consistently and the situation would often revert to the previously unsafe one. Other actions, such as media campaigns conducted with l'OEIL and the CLSC-CDN, were discussed in the section on planning efforts by community group workers and public authorities.

In 2001, the Residents' Association tried to convince building owners to create common rooms in their buildings, with little success. Improvements to the physical environment have also been tackled. These include street repair, parking problems, and the accessibility of alleys and garages. In 2002, the regional Public Works division agreed to reconstruct the street in the spring of 2002 (although it was slated for 2004), construct outdoor garbage bin holders, support the group's collaborative plan for eradicating infestations (see below), and provide technical support for popular education campaigns. Public Works also agreed to consider the possibility of upping garbage collection from twice a week to three times a week and to submit this proposal to the City for financial approval.

iii) environmental cleanliness

Beginning with street and alley cleaning bees and door-to-door sensitization campaigns in collaboration with l'OEIL, the CLSC-CDN, PROMIS, the SHDM, Éco-Quartier, and Public Works CDN/NDG, the Residents' Association has managed to significantly decrease the amount and type of garbage and litter on the street. Interventions include helping landlords build interior garbage rooms instead of letting tenants leave their garbage bags along the sides of buildings, doing door-to-door popular education campaigns to let new arrivals know how garbage disposal is done in Montreal, participating in Éco-Quartier's recycling and black box campaign, and providing follow-up for building owners and janitors who were continuing with recycling after the pilot project ended in 2001 (50% of buildings on Mountain Sights were participating at the time of writing).

iv) cockroach and vermin infestations

This has been an on-going fight on Mountain Sights since the 1970's. The Residents' Association has taken up where other residents, community group workers, and public authorities have left off or given up. With their various partners over the years (mainly l'OEIL, the CLSC-CDN, and the SHDM), they have attacked the problem from three angles. First, by trying to make other residents aware of how their domestic practices might contribute to the problem. Second, by encouraging building owners to become more proactive. And third, by trying to get the City and municipal building inspectors to ensure that recalcitrant landlords provide regular exterminations.

The Residents' Association tried for years to develop a collaborative and sustainable extermination plan with local building owners and the City of Montreal, since the repeated exterminations ordered by individual building owners raise serious health concerns, just as intensive cockroach and vermin infestations do. The non-participation of many landlords and the only occasional participation of municipal authorities has meant that this collaborative plan has never really got off the ground. Meanwhile, the Residents' Association has tried to deal with the situation on a case-by-case basis in participating buildings, with some success. In the early 1990's, mice and rats could be seen darting out from behind mountains of garbage bags or strolling down the alleys. This is no longer the case.

v) public safety and security

This is a highly-charged dossier, given the historical sensitivity to all matters pertaining to public safety and security in the neighbourhood. Local police have been very involved with residents and local organizations since 1995, and the officers assigned to the area have always been active participants in most public and environmental safety activities. The Residents' Association has always focused on traffic safety, since traffic on the street and alleys goes by at excessive speeds, and several children have already been hit, sustaining minor injuries. In 2001, the Residents' Association drew up an action plan regarding traffic and public safety, and met with the police in August 2001 to discuss this plan. As a result, the police have been conducting regular speed traps on surrounding streets, have arranged for the installation of stop signs and speed limit signs (30 km/hr), and have upped regular patrols in the park. The police have also increased their profile in the neighbourhood among youth, mainly by participating in various community events (Christmas party, teaching children how to skate and play hockey, etc.).

vi) recreational opportunities and facilities

This dossier ties in with the ones previously discussed, although it is a separate dossier for the Residents' Association. The lack of recreational opportunities for residents of all ages has been a matter of some concern for residents and local community group workers dating back to the Patel Study of 1978. As we have seen, residents and their supporters have managed to wrest many items from municipal authorities over the years, such as the basketball court, volleyball

court, wading pool, community centre, community garden, and children's playgrounds. But there is more, mostly supported by PROMIS: an after-school program was opened up in the park chalet, daycare facilities were installed in the community centre, and French and English language lessons offered to adults. As well, a Youth Group was formed that participates in many of the activities organized by the Residents' Association. Discussion sessions on recognizing and dealing with the phenomenon of gangs and delinquency in teenagers have also been held regularly.

Since 2001, the Residents' Association and the CLSC-CDN have been trying to buy a nearby vacant lot, in order to build housing units with a twist - commercial space on the ground floor that can house a food and dry goods cooperative and an ethnic grocery store. In addition, in Fall 2002, the local Sports and Recreation office agreed to help obtain the funding needed to convert the park chalet into a youth and recreational centre.

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This chapter has provided us with an overview of demographics, geography, and planning actions in Mountain Sights and the larger district of Côte des Neiges, and has pointed out the parallels and differences between the two contexts. For example, we saw that the population of Mountain Sights resembles that of Côte des Neiges North in many ways, although certain ethnocultural groups are more prominent in Mountain Sights than in Côte des Neiges (South Asian groups in particular). As well, both the micro-sector of Mountain Sights and the larger district of Côte des Neiges North are immigrant reception and settlement zones. It is also interesting to note that the trajectory of resident-led planning action in Mountain Sights is somewhat similar to that of other "hot spots" in Côte des Neiges and Notre Dame de Grâce (Barclay and Walkley, in particular), which all share a similar socio-demographic trajectory and a similar history of resident and community group intervention in the local environment. However, there seems to be little connection at first between the planning actions taking place in the district of Côte des Neiges and those taking place in Mountain Sights, since the latter are devoted almost entirely to neighbourhood improvement. In addition, there is no indication so far that any of the planning controversies concerning cultural difference occurring in Côte des Neiges (controversies surrounding ethnic places of worship, irregular uses, uses made of public parks, etc.) have any reflection in the multiethnic neighbourhood of Mountain Sights.

Although this chapter sets the context for the presentation and discussion of our interview findings, it does not help provide answers to the latter questions, nor does it provide any indication of the way that different planning efforts or mentalities intersect and operate in a highly multiethnic context. Planning efforts carried out by residents, community group workers, and public authorities in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights are fairly recent developments, as most have taken place within the last fifteen years. What are the different approaches and how do they operate? What is it about a multiethnic neighbourhood such as Mountain Sights that has led to this intensive planning intervention by actors at different levels, when this type of intervention does not seem to exist throughout the entire district of Côte des Neiges? How similar are the approaches and procedures used by municipal actors in Mountain Sights to those that they use in the rest of Côte des Neiges? What are the difficulties or issues involved in doing planning in a highly multiethnic neighbourhood?

This overview of planning in Côte des Neiges and Mountain Sights does not give us any indication of the actual processes involved in planning amidst cultural diversity. In fact, planning efforts in Mountain Sights appear to be culturally neutral at first, since they seem to be geared only towards overall environmental improvement (vermin reduction, park improvement, traffic security). However, we do have a glimpse of the complexities lying underneath, since previous studies mention the existence of ethnic places of worship, irregular uses, culturally-based uses, and different patterns of park use in passing (Vaillancourt, 1978; Sweeney and Blanc, 2000, 2002; Di Genova, 2001). However, we do not know exactly what these uses are, or what kinds of reactions they might cause. For example, what is the significance of different leisure or religious groups for local residents, and how do their activities affect the local environment? Do improvements made to housing and local public spaces respond to the concerns of residents of different ethnocultural origins? Why is there such an emphasis on popular education in the planning work of local actors? What is the significance of the community garden to residents in this neighbourhood? What about the 'different' waste management and domestic practices that some actors feel contribute to environmental uncleanliness? What drives certain residents to become involved in local planning efforts? Have some residents' concerns been downplayed by those doing planning in the neighbourhood while others are accepted? If so, why?

The processes underlying the planning actions carried out and the decisions made by different actors in a culturally diverse context are also missing from this overview. How have actors at different levels coordinated their actions or targeted them to existing social realities (or not, as the failure of several projects may suggest)? How have these projects or interventions addressed cultural difference, and how has cultural difference influenced the success or failure of these projects? How do the different planning approaches used in Mountain Sights deal with cultural diversity? How do planning efforts in Mountain Sights intersect with the larger municipal planning framework in Côte des Neiges and Montreal? How transferable are the planning experiences of different actors in Mountain Sights to other contexts? And lastly, what lessons can be extracted from this case study, and how can they be applied to the municipal planning process? The answers will emerge from the discussion and analysis of our study's findings, presented in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 6: THE PERSPECTIVE OF RESIDENTS

In this chapter, interview findings with residents of Mountain Sights will be presented. To recap, four topics were covered during these interviews. The first topic covers respondents' personal details. The second targets how public spaces in this case study neighbourhood are used and perceived by residents, and how well these spaces are perceived to accommodate or respond to increasing cultural diversity. The third topic is designed to shed light on the different planning approaches being used in this context. And the fourth topic elicits information on perceptions of the way that the municipal planning framework operates in multiethnic contexts and the receptiveness of public authorities to cultural diversity. Interview findings for residents will be presented according to each of these four categories.

6.1 PROFILE OF RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED

A brief summary of the profile of residents interviewed for this research project was presented in Chapter 4. This section will go into further detail regarding respondents' profiles. In total, 26 residents were interviewed for this case study. All 26 reside on Mountain Sights Avenue between Jean Talon Boulevard and De La Savane Avenue. These 23 women and 3 men live in a wide variety of building types. Half live in low income or subsidized housing developments while the other half live in privately owned buildings. In addition, these respondents live in 17 out of the possible 27 buildings on the street. Living conditions are very crowded for the majority. Most respondents and their families live in 3 ½ or 4 ½ apartments, although three live in 6 ½'s or 8 ½'s.

Most residents interviewed are between 25 to 42 years of age. The youngest is 21, and two are over the age of 60. Sixteen are legally married, four are in common-law relationships, five are divorced, and one is single. All but one have children. Most have three children, although this ranges from one to seven. Divorced residents are all women with children. The multiethnicity of the neighbourhood carries over to personal relationships, since 30% of respondents are married to, living with, or have had children with partners of different racial, ethnic, or religious backgrounds.

A quick glance at the list of respondents provided in Appendix 2 shows that half are of South Asian descent (including Filipino respondents, who report being of South Asian origin). West Indians account for 30% of the sample (it should be noted here that we will often refer to Haitians as belonging to a sub-group within the category of 'West Indian', due to the particular culture of Haiti, the number of respondents in this sample of Haitian origin, and in order to make a distinction between respondents from the Anglophone, Hispanophone, and Francophone West Indies). Three respondents were born in Canada (two are of Black Canadian descent and one is of Indian descent). The remaining respondent is from Mexico. The most recently arrived immigrants in this sample are all South Asian, and arrived as young adults in the 1990's (the most recent arrival immigrated in 1998). Two Spanish-speaking respondents (from Mexico and the Dominican Republic) both immigrated as young adults in the 1980's, as did several other respondents from South Asian countries. The Anglophone West Indians and Haitians in this sample all arrived in the 1970's, either as young adults or as children joining their parents in Canada. Quite a few West Indian, Haitian, or Filipino women immigrated on their own as single women. In total, seven respondents immigrated in the 1990's, eleven during the 1980's, five during the 1970's, and three were born in Canada. The majority of immigrants in this sample came to Mountain Sights directly from their home countries, joining spouses, friends, or relatives already living in the neighbourhood. Only a handful lived in other sectors of Côte des Neiges or Notre Dame de Grâce before moving to Mountain Sights. All those who came to Canada as young children have chosen to remain in the neighbourhood as adults.

In terms of employment, half have full time jobs. Two run home businesses (a daycare and a hairdressing business), five work in the health care or clerical field, and six (including the three male respondents) work in the manufacturing sector or as janitors. The other half are either full time homemakers (12) or are retired (1). Of the homemakers, seven worked in Canada or in their home countries before having children, while five have never worked outside the home.

This is a fairly well educated sample. Forty percent have university or college diplomas, and another 40% have high school leaving certificates. The rest never completed high school. South Asian, Filipino, and Haitian respondents are the best educated, especially at the university and college level. Anglophone West Indians and respondents born in Canada or Latin America are the least educated.

Annual household income varies widely. Two thirds of respondents live in dual-income households, while one third are the sole bread-winners in their families. Three depend on government transfer payments. Those living in single-income households have an annual income of between $13,000 to $22,000, while those living in dual-income households have an annual household income of between $24,000 to $60,000. Annual household income among respondents in this sample is $42,000 a year, much higher than the average of $34,405 for the neighbourhood reported on the 2001 Canada Census (see section 5.2.3 in Chapter 5), and definitely higher than the average for Côte des Neiges North ($32,000 according to the 2001 Census - Ville de Montréal, 2003). Over three-quarters of respondents in this sample believe that "outsiders", particularly community group workers and public authorities, perceive Mountain Sights to be a disadvantaged ghetto, which they find disheartening since they believe that their reality is quite different.

Many respondents report that they have not been able to fulfil their career objectives in Canada. While some South Asian women feel that their career opportunities have expanded since coming to Canada (they have been able to further their education or work outside the home), an equal number of immigrant respondents had earned advanced degrees and worked professionally in their home countries but have had tremendous difficulty finding suitable employment in Canada.

In summary, this is a sample divided between Canadian-born individuals/established immigrants and more recent arrivals (but not newly arrived immigrants, since the newest arrival in this sample came to Canada three years prior to her interview), between employed and non-employed residents, better and less well educated residents, and between those born in Canada, those coming from West Indian/Latin American countries, and those coming from South Asian countries.

6.2 THE PARTICULARITIES OF PUBLIC SPACE IN A MULTIETHNIC CONTEXT

Research findings on residents' perceptions of public space are presented in three parts. The first part zeros in on culturally-based uses and visions of public space. The second part addresses how these different uses and visions intersect in public space and how this in turn affects appropriation of space in this multiethnic neighbourhood. The third part examines how public spaces in the neighbourhood are affected by increasing cultural diversity and a steadily growing population.

6.2.1 Uses and Visions of Public Space in a Multiethnic Context

One of the problems that arise when doing planning research in local communities is that residents do not always speak "the language of planning" (Guttenberg, 1993). During their interview, respondents in this sample sometimes just stared at the researcher blankly when asked to describe their feelings towards local public spaces or the environment. But once they knew that we were referring to "the street", "the park", or to "what people do in the park", it was easy for them to assemble these elements into a complete whole called "environment". South Asian women had the most difficulty with these concepts. As one explained:

> "We are used to thinking about roads and cars and the park, and we think about what we can do to improve these things a lot, but to tell you the truth, I've never stood back and put these things all together. Or maybe I have, but it's not something I've really thought about." (Bengali female, no. 20)

In general, two main ways of perceiving public space in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights emerged from this study, depending on respondents' period of immigration. The division between Canadian-born/established immigrants and more recent arrivals plays out in the uses respondents make of public spaces, the meanings they attribute to public space, the extent to which they feel that they can appropriate space, and the link they make between uses and practices in their home countries and those carried out in their neighbourhood.

a) Different uses and practices in public space

A wealth of information on how individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups use public space in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights was collected, which unfortunately cannot be presented here in any great detail (please refer to section 4.7.1 in Chapter 4 for more information). This section therefore examines only the most important trends in leisure and recreational activities and daily life habits.

Different leisure and recreational activities

The first observation that emerged from our interviews with residents is that every single available outdoor or indoor space can become the site of leisure and recreational activities (refer to Figure 5 in Chapter 5 for the neighbourhood map). Outdoor semi-public spaces such as the east-side alley and building lawns are used as a backyard space by residents of all ethnocultural groups. People install their patio sets there, children play all day long, and groups of men gather on building lawns in the evenings and have what many female respondents scornfully call "drinking parties". Indoor semi-public spaces such as the common areas in apartment buildings (lobbies, hallways, etc.) are used in the same way, although a gulf emerges here between South Asian and West Indian respondents, regardless of their period of immigration. West Indian, Haitian, Latin American, and Canadian-born respondents only use the common areas in apartment buildings as a passageway to their apartments, although teenagers in this group are reported to use indoor spaces in the buildings as places to hang out. On the other hand, South Asians report using indoor building common areas as gathering spaces. They hold large parties that spill out into the foyers and hallways, women meet in the lobby and talk while their children play, and some women hold hairdressing sessions in the foyers.

> "We do more of this thing in our culture. Like with the guests and the relatives, every week the guests come, we sit down together. Last month we had the Eid, like before Christmas, the end of Ramadan, so we sit together, we eat together, it was a lot of people. At home it's a big mess and no one can move. So it's easier to use the corridor as well." (Bengali female, no. 20)

By all accounts, the park is a prime leisure and recreational space, and is reported to be the most important meeting place in the neighbourhood. In keeping with the findings of Di Genova (2001) for De La Savane Park, residents report that the park is most heavily used for social activities and much less so for sporting activities. Free-form use predominates, even in tightly programmed areas such as the southern section (with its playground, basketball and volleyball courts, chalet, and wading pool). As well, park equipment is not always used in the way and by the users it was programmed to receive. The two baseball diamonds in the northern section are used for almost everything except baseball, with the exception of an organized softball league whose players come from one of the nearby companies and that has a permit to use the park on certain days for softball matches. The most popular uses are cricket (by South Asian men), soccer (West Indian men), lacrosse (Sri Lankan women), and family and group activities (picnics, etc.).

This is a park divided. Adults belonging to the different West Indian groups are reported to gather mainly in the northern section of the park and those of South Asian origin in the southern section of the park.

> "The more they are putting in the park, the more people are going. So it's getting really crowdy there. The parents they go there and they're all talking, and the whole place is filled with big people. They take all the place and there's no place for the children. A lot of people use the park to meet their friends. It's nice, we like it like that." (Bengali female, no. 26)

This dynamic only changes when sporting activities are involved. The northwest section of the park is the "Haitian section", the northeast is the "Sri Lankan section", and Filipinos tend to gather in the southernmost part of the playing field area. The community garden and the playground are the only areas in the park where individuals from very different ethnocultural backgrounds are said to mix regularly and interact with one another. In other areas, however, members of one regional group report sometimes going well out of their way not to interact with members of another.

> "The Blacks and the Patels here have their own little groups. I don't really see people of either side saying "hi" to each other at all. It's kind of standoffish. The park is fill with Sri Lankan people, and sometimes the Patels, especially the women, won't go to the park because they'll say its fill of Sri Lankan people." (Indian female, no. 22)

> "Usually the park is very segregated, in that they are for their nationality and group with their nationality. They pass and see you and they say "hi", but being really involved with others, there has to be some kind of reason."
> (West Indian female, no. 2)

The sociability function of the park is immense. South Asians use the park for large group picnics and celebratory occasions. West Indians and Haitians are more low-key, and their activities tend to be smaller and less open to others in their own community (children's birthday parties, for example).

> "I personally use the park a lot, especially with the children. I did my daughter's first communion celebration right here in the park, behind my house. I put up decorations and everything. If I get married again, I'll do it right here in this part of the park." (Haitian female, no. 21)

However, the overwhelming majority of respondents feel that everyone in the neighbourhood tends to indulge in the same type of social activities despite the spatial separation kept between ethnocultural groups. Individuals belonging to many different ethnocultural groups gather in the park to have picnics and barbecues. People of all origins use the northern section of the park for special family events. This carries over to religious rituals – Muslim prayer sessions, especially during Ramadan, Baptismal celebrations in the wading pool, Hindu ablutions in the wading pool, and the occasional preacher.

One finding of note that came up during interviews is that the elderly are virtually absent from the park, either because they are not used to being out in public (in the case of elderly South Asian women) or do not feel comfortable there.

> "The elderly tend to stay indoors. Only some take the children to the park. That's only when I see them, so I guess it's the only time maybe they like to go."
> (Haitian female, no. 19)

Two characteristics of public space use bear mention here. The first has to do with animals. Three-quarters said that public spaces in their neighbourhood are very different from those in non-immigrant areas due to the significant role that human-animal interactions play. Those

belonging to South Asian ethnocultural groups make a point of leaving all sorts of table scraps in the park for wild animals.

> "I'm one of those people who feeds all the pigeons and wild animals. A lot of us do that. Animals don't bother me. We're used to having them around. They have a right to live here too. The old man above me just throws rice out the window for them. But I think it's better to bring the food to one spot so the animals all know where it is. Maybe others don't like us to do that, but it's not right to throw out good food if something else can eat it." (Indian female, no. 22)

Chickens can be seen in the park in the summer months, since some residents keep chicken coops on the balconies or else let them roam free. Dog ownership cuts across all ethnic lines, and by all accounts, dogs are very present in the park both on and off-leash. Few residents in this study are afraid of dogs, and they all feel that dog-based activities are a very important part of park use even though the park is not equipped to handle a large number of pet dogs (no dog run, for example).

The second characteristic of note involves public uses taking place in private apartments. Examples brought up during interview include informal places of worship (a Pakistani *mussallah,* Hindu sect worship, or Evangelical prayer meetings) and cottage industries (hairdressing salons, sewing studios, daycare facilities, electrical and mechanical repair businesses). The traffic in and out of these apartments transforms them into public spaces because they serve as gathering spaces for people in a particular community.

Daily and domestic practices

While leisure or recreational uses can be differentiated along ethnocultural lines in many instances, daily and domestic uses are keyed to both ethnocultural origin and period of immigration. The main issue involves different ideas of what constitutes good civic behaviour. Respondents are divided into two main groups here: those who believe that members of other ethnic groups and more recent immigrants have certain domestic or daily practices that are contrary to the norms that they consider to be acceptable, and those who consider these practices to be normal.

West Indian, Haitian, Latin American and Canadian-born residents often report that certain practices of South Asian residents (new immigrants or not) go against what they consider to be good civic behaviour. These practices include residents who leave their household garbage in the wrong place (alleys, hallways, even in the park) at the wrong time or in the wrong way (unbagged, for example) or who litter and spit on the street or in building hallways. These practices also includes women who cut each others' hair in building foyers, "Hindus" who take splash-baths on the bathroom floor instead of in the tub, or South Asian women who drape large laundry items over park equipment to dry or who use the alleys as places to perform domestic chores (airing carpets, laundry, cooking, etc.). It also includes South Asians who create "safe havens" in their apartments for pigeons and squirrels.

> "Before all the new Asian groups started moving here, the *quartier* was much cleaner. Now its more Sri Lankan and the others, and it's gone downhill. What really bothers me is the clothes-lines on the balconies and people leaving their laundry out to dry everywhere. We aren't a rich area, but we don't have to let it look like a ghetto. It gives a really bad impression." (Haitian female, no. 21)

On the other hand, none of the South Asian respondents in this study felt that these uses were out of the ordinary, with the exception of certain uses related to general environmental cleanliness.

This overview of interview findings on the different types of public space use in a multiethnic neighbourhood suggests that these practices result both from long-term habits and from different ways of conceptualizing public space.

b) The meaning of public space

What people do, and allow themselves to do, in public space stems from personal conceptions as well as from an understanding of what is socially acceptable. This means that different groups, and individuals belonging to these groups, can conceptualize public space in different ways (Bourdier and AlSayyad, 1989). As a result, some individuals or groups risk being somewhat excluded from public space if their concerns and their ability to appropriate space do not coincide with the conceptions guiding its design. In the literature, these 'groups at risk of exclusion' commonly include women (Wekerle, 2000), the elderly (Teo, 1997), or racial and ethnic minorities (Day, 1999a, 1999b). The way that different conceptions of public space

intersect in a multiethnic neighbourhood is therefore an important component of the way public space is used and perceived.

Residents interviewed for this study can be divided into three groups with respect to their spatial conceptions and the meaning they assign to public space. The first group is composed of Canadian-born respondents and established immigrants of West Indian, Haitian, and Latin American origin. The second group is composed of South Asian respondents who are more recent arrivals, many of whom come from rural areas. The third group includes long-term immigrants from South Asian countries, as well as several more recent arrivals from large urban centres in Bangladesh.

Group 1: Canadian-born residents and established immigrants from the West Indies, Haiti, and Latin America

For all these respondents, the boundary between private (domestic) space and public space is clearly defined. For them, this means that domestic activities should only be carried out within the privacy of one's own home, with the exception of home businesses. People are also supposed to respect the environmental "rules" of Canadian society. This means disposing of garbage and acting in public according to "how this is done in Canada". Interactions in public space are supposed be neutral. Men and women have equal rights in public space, and everyone should behave cordially to one another, saying "hi" when greeted and taking care not to hog too much space in the park. However, certain 'different' uses are considered acceptable: animal-rearing, loud parties, places of worship, 'club-houses', cottage industries, using outdoor spaces as a backyard, and different preferences in sports activities.

In short, this conception of public space is based on respect for others' boundaries and is gender-neutral. It supports the environmental cleanliness norms of the "host society", and accepts that religious and economic activities intersect with residential ones. Immigrants in this group also report that they held the same conceptions of public space in their home countries.

Group 2: More recent immigrants from South Asia

Respondents who are more recent immigrants from South Asia (excluding our three respondents from Bangladesh) are all women from Pakistan, the Philippines, and rural areas of Sri Lanka. Their conceptions are based on a blurring of the distinction between public and private space. For them, public space is considered to be an extension of private domestic space. This means that domestic activities can be carried out in any available public space without qualm. Often indoor or outdoor common spaces are seen as being commonly-shared courtyards or village centres. The transposition of the village or the extended family compound to a new type of housing construction is a key notion here.

This blurring of public and private space extends to the realm of personal interactions. What one does in public reflects directly on the good standing of other members of the community. This is the realm of female versus male space, a notion that is key to this group's conception of public space. All outdoor space is male space, with the exception of female 'islands' within this male space (the children's playground, the Community Centre). Building foyers and hallways become female spaces if a group of women and children are using them, but if a lone male and a lone female are in a hallway together, it reverts back to a male space. Neutral spaces do exist – the community garden is the main example here. This separation into male and female space means that women are not 'safe' in male public space. What is interesting here is that these respondents all report that these types of conceptions predominate in their home countries. This correlates with the findings of other studies on public space in countries and regions including Algeria (Benzerfa-Gerroudj, 1992), the Middle East in general (Germeraad, 1993), India (Joardar, 1989), or Pakistan (Goodwin, 1995).

Group 3: Long-term immigrants from South Asian countries and newer immigrants from urban contexts in Bangladesh

This group is composed of immigrants who report one of the following two observations: either their conception of public space has changed over the years that they have been in Canada, or else they believe that there are many similarities between the way public spaces are used in large cities or well-to-areas in their home countries and the way that they are used in many Montreal neighbourhoods. They are embarrassed to see other South Asians perform household chores in the alleys or the park. They will not hold private parties in building lobbies, preferring to rent a hall or restaurant if need be. On the other hand, women in this group feel more comfortable in female-only spaces, although they have no qualms about going out alone at night or about being in "male" space. Thus, their vision coincides with that of West Indian, Haitian, Latin American, and Canadian-born residents in their emphasis on good civic behaviour in public space.

This finding leaves several questions open. Since long-term Sri Lankan and Indian immigrants in this group report that their public space conceptions have changed over time, why has this conceptual evolution not been reported by long-term Pakistani immigrants in this group? And why do all three Bengali respondents (even the newest arrival) have conceptions that match those of long-term immigrants? It is tempting to say that Bengali society is slightly more secular than Pakistani society, although this same explanation is not true for Sri Lanka. Since we only have 26 respondents in our sample of residents, perhaps this sample is too small to fully explain this particular finding. There may be cultural factors at work here that are unknown to the author, but the possibility that these are simply individual differences must also be kept in mind.

c) Public space preferences

A spatial environment that responds to the needs and wants of local residents and public space users is often considered to mean that they will be more satisfied and will feel a greater degree of comfort when in public space (Weisman, 1992; Carr, 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995). Respondents' public space preferences help demonstrate what their concerns may be and how well their needs and wants are accommodated in local public space. Interviews showed that preferences and the degree of comfort felt in public space are keyed to the similarity or dissimilarity between public spaces in Mountain Sights and those in residents' home countries

and in other Montreal neighbourhoods, as well as to the sense of safety felt in public space and satisfaction with the social dynamics existing in these spaces.

Comparing spaces

Residents who compare public spaces in Mountain Sights unfavourably with those in their country of origin or in other Montreal neighbourhoods are less likely to be satisfied with the local environment in their neighbourhood, and vice versa.

Respondents who were born in Canada, or who come from the West Indies, Haiti, and Latin America report being less comfortable in local public spaces and feel that their preferences are not met. Immigrants in this group all feel that public spaces in their home countries are much more "natural" and beautiful than those in Mountain Sights. They are more comfortable with the way spaces are used in their home countries, and many report that they tend to avoid using De La Savane Park because they feel uncomfortable in it. On the other hand, West Indians and Haitians report that in their home countries, people use their private property much more than they use public parks, and that they too prefer to use their own balconies or the alleys because they feel that these are like their backyards. As a result, they are often embarrassed to invite friends or relatives over, because if local public spaces are unkempt (and they believe that they are), then it is as though their own living room or backyard is also unkempt.

> "The street is the salon of Mountain Sights. You receive guests in your salon, and so the street is also our salon. It's what people see of us at first. It shows people how we keep our house. [...] I'm embarrassed to have people over. Not my family, they are used to it. But friends who live on the South Shore."
> (Haitian female, no. 21)

Our respondent from Mexico, on the other hand, compares local public spaces in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights unfavourably to the "clean and neat" spaces in the east-end neighbourhood of Montreal where she used to live. She also feels that public spaces around Mountain Sights remind her of those in Mexico City – overcrowded, dirty, garbage-strewn, and badly maintained. However, she misses the friendliness between strangers that she reports exists in Mexican public spaces. She tends to avoid public spaces in Mountain Sights because they replicate what she dislikes about those in her home country and do not encode what she appreciates about spaces in Mexico or in her old neighbourhood in Montreal.

> "It's really different here. I really liked the parks in the east-end, they were so peaceful. And they were clean. Nobody hardly used them, so you could walk around for a long time and you'd be the only one there. [...] Where I used to live in Mexico, you were never alone. You could go out and always find a friend to talk to." (Mexican female, no. 23)

The opposite is true for all except one of our South Asian respondents. They report feeling much more satisfied and comfortable with public spaces in Mountain Sights than with those in their home countries. There are significant differences within this group, however. Sri Lankan female respondents are caught between two worlds. They all come from rather small Tamil villages in the northern part of Sri Lanka, where the threat of personal violence (the result of years of civil war) marked their feelings towards public spaces outside of their own village. As women they did not venture far from the family compound. What they miss the most are the courtyards of these family compounds, where women would spend the day together doing their domestic tasks. They prefer spaces that recreate this feeling in Mountain Sights.

> "We come from a very small town, and the kids for playing just played in the street or around the houses or in the fields. Womens don't go out of the house for walking like they do here, we only go out if we have to with our fathers or husbands. So when I come here, I had no idea of a park like this. But it's not a womens' place, like in our homes we had big spaces in the outside where we were always. It's not the same." (Sri Lankan female, no. 18)

On the other hand, the lone Sri Lankan male in this group feels that public spaces in Mountain Sights are ten times better than in Sri Lanka. However, he misses the male-dominated gathering spaces of his home country – the small urban squares and parks in urban contexts where men would congregate and meet their friends.

Pakistani, Bengali, and Indian female respondents all come from urban areas where there are few public parks or even streets where women are able to "walk freely" except in the company of male relatives. However, several remarked that residential buildings in larger cities in their home countries are constructed in such a way that they could easily walk over to a neighbour's house by going across the adjoining rooftops. For this reason, they appreciate being able to meet their friends in the park whenever they like, since it is like their "rooftop".

> "In our culture it's not the same like here. In the afternoon we used to go to our neighbour's house, or we go on the roof and talk, we spend all afternoon talking. But here we have to call our friends first and see if they're busy or if they're home from work yet. But with the park, we can just go there and talk and talk. So that's why in the summertime we enjoy the park, it's more like a gathering from our people." (Bengali female, no. 26)

The two Filipinas in this sample report that parks, streets and other outdoor spaces are much dirtier and uncared for in their home islands. They said that parks in the Philippines are used mainly by groups of men and couples seeking privacy. Families will go outside the city to the beach or to vacant fields for day-long outings and picnics, not to parks. However, they miss the extent to which activity is conducted outside the home in the Philippines, in the street and in spaces between houses. Paradoxically, they report feeling much more comfortable in public spaces back home, because they knew what to expect. They feel lost in public spaces in Montreal because they do not understand how to react or what others' intentions are. They have both had rather disturbing experiences in public spaces in Montreal, especially with men. Therefore, they feel more comfortable in public spaces around Mountain Sights because of the large numbers of South Asians.

> "In Manila, I would walk around everywhere at any time, even though there were less street lights, and it was probably, it was, a lot more really dangerous. But it's home, and I know what people mean to say and what they mean when they do things. Here it's not so easy in Montreal, but at least around here [Mountain Sights] it's now an Asian area, so we are knowing each other more."
> (Filipino female, no. 17)

Every single one of these South Asian women believes that men in the neighbourhood (of all origins) do not respect their presence in public space, especially in the park. Most are actually more comfortable in "non-immigrant" neighbourhoods. In the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, the physical barriers to male harassment that existed in their home countries are non-existent and men in their community are said to feel free to "bother them all the time". They feel that in host society neighbourhoods, men are more respectful of women in public space and so these physical barriers are not needed. In other words, the physical design of space in Mountain Sights is considered to encourage male harassment of South Asian women.

> "There's too many Bengali people there. They all gossip about you, and want to know what you're doing. I like the people from Canada and from any country except people from my own country. Sometimes the men, especially my country men and the Yugoslavian men, they are too much, they want to talk to you all the time. [...] They are not doing this in other Montreal places."
> (Bengali female, no. 25)

All in all, respondents of all ethnic origins who compare spaces in Mountain Sights unfavourably with those in other parts of Montreal are the least satisfied with them.

> "I never go to the park, I always go to parks in Westmount or in Mount Royal. There the parks are clean and you don't have to worry about stepping on pieces of broken glass or see litter lying around everywhere. I feel bad in the park so I try to avoid it." (West Indian female, no. 14)

> "My kids want to move back to NDG, they really liked the parks there. Where we lived [...], the street was always clean, there was never any garbage anywhere. And not in the parks either. You just felt more open there."
> (Pakistani female, no. 13)

> "The east-end parks are much nicer. Where we used to live, there was a park that was right on the water. It was all woods and I never saw any litter around at all. It's not like that here. When we moved and I took a look at the park, I felt like crying. I asked my husband why he had brought me here."
> (Mexican female, no. 23)

In general, the extent to which preferences are satisfied and the degree of comfort felt in public space is tied in with appreciation of certain types of environmental aesthetics and forms of social interaction. If a mis-match exists between these two elements, then respondents' sense of satisfaction and comfort decreases.

Feeling safe and secure

The sense of safety and security in public space also emerged as a factor that colours respondents' satisfaction, preferences, and sense of comfort. The sense of safety is related to personality, gender, and ethnicity among our respondents. In terms of ethnicity, West Indian, Haitian, and Canadian-born respondents report very high levels of 'feeling safe', although women generally avoid the park at night, feeling it is too dark. It is also important to note that older the respondent, the safer they feel.

> "For me, I never feel I have a problem. I goes to church, I come from church, I have no problem in the night. I walk the street, nobody molest me and I molest nobody. [...] There are always people walking the street, so they would hear if something was happening to you. People should have no dread of walking the street. People should be able to walk free." (West Indian female, no. 5)

On the other hand, three-quarters of South Asian women feel a general sense of unease in public space unless accompanied by a man or as part of a group of women. Most avoid going out alone at night at all.

> "Night-time I'm not going outside, that's why, I'm scared. If I go out, I go with my husband. In my country, if I go out at night, my brother or my sister go with me, but always I'm scared and a little bit nervous. But it's in me, it's not outside of me. It's got nothing to do with the street. It's me." (Bengali female, no. 20)

This feeling has changed over time, however. Many were very scared in public during their first year in the neighbourhood, mainly because they were afraid of "Black" people whom they thought were very violent. However, this fear gradually dissipated over the course of positive social interactions.

> "There were so many Black people living in my building when I moved here. Before there were too many, all the Black guys were bother me, they were always smoking up, and all the time they were staying in the street. So I was too scared to go out of the house. But now many of them are gone and I made friends with some Black women here and I know that they are good people. So I'm no afraid to go out anymore by myself." (Sri Lankan female, no. 24)

However, personal confidence overrides cultural mentalities in some cases. As one female from Bangladesh reports:

> "I have more strongness than other women of my country. When I first came here, my husband just show me for one week or two weeks some areas and explained me how to take the metro and the bus, and since then I go everywhere alone. Living back home in my country I used to go everywhere alone too, but my country's not safe like here. Some husbands don't allow their wives to go out alone, but my husband is special. He knows I can handle any situation."
> (Bengali female, no. 26)

None of our three male respondents report feeling unsafe or insecure in public spaces. However, they all report that some public spaces are not safe for their wives, girlfriends, or children, especially at night (the street is safe, the park and alleys are not).

The sense of security is also linked to physical features in the environment, of which traffic safety is the most common. Respondents all complain that cars and trucks coming from the highway and industrial park often speed down the street and alleys. They are fearful for the safety of their children, who use the street and alleys as outdoor play areas.

Feeling safe and secure is also related to perceptions of criminal activity. Several notable observations emerge here. The first is that for all South Asian respondents, the level of overall criminality and violence is so much lower in Montreal than in their home countries that the recent 'history' of Mountain Sights does not effect their overall sense of comfort in public space. However, South Asian women report being intimidated by groups of teenagers and will avoid public spaces if a group of teenagers is there (including building laundry rooms or the children's playground). The second observation is that seven women of all ethnocultural origins feel unsafe *within* their own apartment because they feel that their landlord or janitor allows people to pursue "shady" activities in their building (drug dealing, etc.) or because the main security locks in the lobby or on their front doors are broken. In addition, two thirds of all women in this sample feel that the basement or garage of their building is fairly dangerous, since these areas are often poorly lit and have many hidden spots where someone could easily be hiding. Some feel so afraid of the basement or laundry room of their building that they refuse to go there at all.

As these findings attest, the sense of safety and security in public space is usually correlated to overall physical features in the environment. Culturally-based conceptions only enter into the picture when talking about perceptions held of others and about the innate fear that many South Asian women have of being in public space alone. In addition, there is no correlation with length of residency in Canada. The main determining features have to do with experiences in their home countries or in other parts of Montreal and with the way that respondents compare these experiences to the reality of public space in their neighbourhood.

Preferences

Public space preferences are linked to the experience and representations of public space that respondents held in their home countries (if they are immigrants) and the extent to which respondents wish to find these features (physical features and modes of sociability or social interaction) replicated in their new environment. Respondents also compare the overall condition and quality of public spaces in Mountain Sights with that of more well-to-do neighbourhoods in Montreal, where public spaces are considered to be cleaner, better maintained and equipped, and to encourage positive social interactions between men and women. The most important observation to emerge here is that immigrants in this study are happiest when they can transpose elements of spatial use and sociability that they appreciate in their home countries onto existing public space in their new neighbourhood. All respondents (Canadian-born and immigrants) are most comfortable when local spaces are deemed to be of the same quality as those in wealthier parts of Montreal.

Length of residency in Canada does affects certain preferences, however. South Asians who have been residing in Canada the longest are the least likely of this regional group to desire ethno-specific features in public space (enclosed spaces for women, the "courtyard"), although their preferences are still somewhat different from those of established immigrants from the West Indies. The notion of Bourdieu's *habitus* definitely comes into play here, as immigrants' spatial preferences and internal conceptions have been modified, but not totally changed, over the course of the immigrant trajectory.

6.2.2 Sharing Space: the Intersection of Different Uses and Meanings

Respondents often brought up the way that different visions and ways of doing in neighbourhood public spaces coexist, intersect, conflict, and determine the appropriations they can make of public space.

a) Coexistence in the midst of diversity

All 26 respondents feel that residents of Mountain Sights share the same basic likes and dislikes in public space, regardless of their ethnocultural origins. This is an important finding, because many ethnocultural groups in the neighbourhood are not represented in this respondent sample. Chief among these commonly-shared likes and dislikes reported by respondents is the belief that all residents want to live in a well-kept and healthy neighbourhood, regardless of when they immigrated. Although new arrivals might unwittingly contribute to the uncleanliness of the environment, this does not mean that they hold different public space values, only that the expression of these values is different.

> "People want the same type of buildings and nice area here as in NDG. They want the good park like in other areas. Because they are immigrants, does it mean they don't want what the Québécois people would want in the parks and their houses, like being clean and respectable? Just because they have different habits and come from a different place, means they are so different? I don't think so."
> (Pakistani female, no. 13)

These shared public space values (public sociability, tolerance, environmental safety and health, etc.) are considered by all respondents to lead to a harmonious coexistence in public space. While many different uses, experiences, and conceptions of public space intersect in this multiethnic neighbourhood, they are not different enough to preclude compatibility. For example, animal-rearing in apartments (for ritual purposes, for sale as pets or food) is not an issue of concern for respondents of any ethnocultural origin, nor are cottage industries (such as private butchershops) that might seem out of place in a 'host society' neighbourhood.

b) Conflicting visions of public space

Where these culturally-based uses and conceptions conflict is at the level of different domestic practices, the threat of harassment or assault, and incompatible uses or activities.

Domestic practices

According to respondents, the most conflictual aspect of sharing space in a multiethnic neighbourhood has to do with domestic practices. In essence, this reduces once more to perceptions held by long-term residents or more "urbanized" immigrants of newer arrivals or those that respondents feel are "non-integrated" (regardless of length of residency in Canada).

Overall perceptions of new arrivals are actually quite bleak. All respondents (except the more recent arrival in this sample) made quite a few negative comments throughout their interview about the 'backward' habits and practices of new immigrants. West Indian, Haitian, and Canadian-born residents also tend to report that a certain amount of verbal anger is sometimes directed at newer South Asian arrivals by established residents (including themselves) in fairly mundane situations where very different ways of using space collide.

> "You see these people walking towards you on the street, they're from India or Ceylon or a place like that. And just before they get to you, they'll spit right on the sidewalk. So you have to do a little jump to avoid the huge gob at your feet. At first I didn't know what it was about. And then I said, hey, you're not respecting me. They were doing it to insult me. So I started disrespecting them." (Canadian-born male, no. 9)

On the other hand, older South Asian respondents also report situations where the "uneducated" environmental practices of new arrivals lead to physical conflict with other residents. Examples often involve residents who dump their garbage off balconies or who refuse to dispose of garbage properly even after their neighbour or janitor explains how it should be done. The effect of national hostilities cannot be discounted, as this also seems to be an aggravating factor. In many cases, this type of conflict happens between Indian, Sri Lankan, or Pakistani men (these countries are "at war" with each other).

> "I know for a fact that Sri Lankans and Indians don't really like each other. Indians tend to call Sri Lankans "devils", I don't know why, it must have deep roots. But they don't like each other, and they tend to talk badly about each other." (West Indian female, no. 7)

Two thirds of South Asians said that they have a problem with newer arrivals from their home countries, since these new immigrants tend to come from rural areas and have no experience with an urban environment. Some admitted that they were scornful of "country folk" back home and are disturbed to find that these people are now their neighbours.

> "Some Asian people here are good with the garbage, others are not so good. Some people still do like back home in our country. Some Asian people here are from the city, but those that are from the countryside are not clean. They're used to doing as they do in their village. No matter where they come, to whatever city, they haven't changed or developed, they haven't learned to live in a city." (Bengali female, no. 20)

Domestic practices that cause conflict are mainly situations where private actions negatively affect others' enjoyment of public or private space. Examples provided by respondents include South Asian women who wash their floors by throwing bucketfuls of water on them or who hang sopping wet carpets over their balconies that end up soaking the balconies underneath.

Immigrants who have been living in Canada for many years but whom respondents feel have remained "non-integrated" are also considered to cause problem situations. These situations tend to involve domestic practices and behaviours that are more culturally and personally ingrained. The example that comes up most often involves child-rearing practices. West Indian, Haitian, Latin American, and Canadian-born residents are very frustrated by the "lax" child-rearing practices of their South Asian neighbours. Complaints mainly revolve around unsupervised children who write on hallway walls, play dangerous games on the stairs, urinate wherever they want, or who walk into their apartment and 'borrow' things.

> "A lot of children here are very unclean, I think it's how they live at home. I'd never let my children leave the house all dirty like that. I'd never let them just do their pee-pee wherever they want in the park." (Mexican female, no. 23)

Several South Asian women have had angry neighbours appear at their doors in the middle of the night and order them to control their children, but since they feel that "children run and jump, that's the way they are" (Pakistani female, no. 12), they do nothing about it. In terms of outdoor spaces, West Indian respondents often complain that South Asian children (boys in particular) are destructive to the local environment.

> "They put the flowers in the park, close to the shack. And I watched a bunch of kids, all under twelve, rip up all the flowers and toss them all over the place. The kids that I grew up with, they would have never thought to do that. But most of these kids are Sri Lankan or whatever, I guess their parents are used to a different way of life. Kids, no matter what, they pick up on what their parents feel. A kid has to be really angry to take the time to actually go stomp through a patch of flowers and rip them up." (West Indian female, no. 7)

The threat of harassment or assault

All the women interviewed for this study report having to run a gauntlet of aggressive, and sometimes frightening, behaviour from men in public spaces. Most women will avoid going to a certain part of the park if they see a large group of South Asian men there, feeling that these men can be too aggressive (many of these respondents are women who usually report being able to "put men in their place"). This fear also stems from negative experiences with teenagers or youth gangs.

> "There was a stabbing in the park among the Sri Lankan teenagers, it was in a brawl. I saw teenagers there and they had like a sword or a knife. Then they had a fight with another group of teenagers. I was so scared that day. I didn't want to turn around and go home, to not let them know I saw them and to not scare the kids. I was there about a half an hour and the whole time they never saw me. I didn't go the park for a bit after that." (Indian female, no. 22)

On the other hand, none of our three male respondents reported this type of behaviour on the part of local men. This brings us back once more to the idea of female transgression in male space stemming from the collision of different conceptions of public space, in which one group (men) 'owns' most public spaces and where another group (women) does not. It should be noted here that this aspect of life in Mountain Sights reported by female respondents stems from notions of "male power" in public space that are not specific to any one ethnocultural group. As Goffman (1966: 3) says: "The assault here is not so much directly on an individual as on the system of

rights and symbols the individual employs in expressing relatedness and unrelatedness to those about him."

Incompatible uses or activities

Incompatibility between certain uses and activities refers to situations that interfere with respondents' ability to enjoy public and private space as they desire. Most of the problems brought up by respondents are simply the result of living in apartment buildings and in a rather crowded neighbourhood – stereos and tv's played too loud, for example. However, aspects that are more culturally-based, such as prayer groups or celebratory activities (parties, weddings, religious celebrations or functions in public or semi-public spaces) do not arouse the same conflictual feelings on the part of any respondent. They may be annoyed, but not enough to do anything about it.

> "There's a Muslim thing down there. I have no idea if they're allowed to have a Muslim thing there, but they're praying every morning all together. He [the landlord] knows about it, but he doesn't care as long as that apartment's not empty. This area, they ignore everything. People just let you do whatever you do. Some people say, "oh forget it, as long as they never bother me", something like that. But it doesn't mean they like it." (Filipino female, no. 4)

On the other hand, there is a line that is not supposed to be crossed. Thus, no one cares if someone runs a business out of the home, but a seamstress who operates her sewing machine very late at night is a problem.

> "There was a Tamil woman who was running a sewing business for saris and stuff. She was sewing all night long. The people living in the apartments near her couldn't get to sleep at night. I spoke to her and I spoke to her and nothing. I had the owner evict her." (Mexican female, no. 3)

All of these examples show that the major issues of contention for the residents interviewed for this study revolve around the way mundane and daily life habits intersect in public space. In fact, these types of conflicts can occur in any neighbourhood, although they take on an additional intensity under multiethnic conditions. These are not serious conflicts – outright violence occurs on another plane altogether. Several ethnic gang conflicts in the park and in buildings at various points in time (Sri Lankan, Somalian, and Jamaican gangs) are the most overt, but other forms of

violence (especially domestic abuse or conflict between family members) are also mentioned by respondents, who often attribute this to the way that "men in our community treat women".

Despite this, what respondents stress the most is the large degree of tolerance that exists in the neighbourhood and the way that most people manage to coexist in public space despite their differences. These findings confirm those of Blanc (1995) and Germain *et al* (1995) on the peaceful but distant forms of coexistence characterizing public sociability in multiethnic contexts in Montreal.

c) Appropriation of space

Interview findings show that the sharing of space in this multiethnic neighbourhood is characterized by the jostling of different conceptions and uses for pre-eminence. In any society, there are limitations on what one can or cannot do in public space. However, these often unwritten codes vary from country to country, which poses certain problems when groups espousing different belief systems try to appropriate a limited number of public spaces.

When it comes down to it, none of the residents interviewed for this study feel that they can appropriate public space as they would like, due to the uses made by others and because of the cultural 'rules' that govern what they can and cannot do in public space. Respondents are divided along ethnocultural and regional lines in this case. One group is composed of Canadian-born, West Indian, Haitian, and Latin American residents. This group reports that they can do everything that they want to in all public spaces except the park, due to appropriations made by South Asians. Respondents in this group feel that they had no problem appropriating space in the park prior to the mass entrance of South Asian immigrants. Although the neighbourhood was multiethnic then as well, the major groups (Indian, West Indian, Haitian, and French Canadian) reportedly had developed similar activity patterns in public space. But now, these respondents feel that the sheer volume of South Asians in the park prevents them from using the park comfortably. They often say that they feel confined to their homes and balconies because: "there is no peace and tranquillity anywhere in the park anymore" (Canadian-born male, no. 9).

As another respondent relates:

> "There's a lot more children in the park, but it doesn't seem to have as much life, as much brightness. [...] I think I liked the park better as it was when I was younger. I would go there and read for hours, and nobody would bother you. Now it's full of confusion. It's not peaceful anymore, there's no place to just relax and be alone." (West Indian female, no. 7)

Almost all men and women of Canadian-born, West Indian, Haitian, and Latin American descent feel that the space they are able to appropriate has shrunk – not because of outside factors, but because they no longer feel comfortable around people from all these new ethnic groups.

The second group is composed of respondents of South Asian origin. Women in this group never feel that they can appropriate public space as they like. Either men take over the space they want to use, or they feel intimidated by residents belonging to other ethno-regional groups. Because unrelated men and women are supposed to remain apart in public space in their cultures, this poses a problem for South Asian women in the park, since they find there is no room for them if men get there first.

> "When men go and sit, the women don't have any places to sit, and they don't want to sit with a man. Men and women cannot sit together. I can sit next to him if I know him well, but if not, you know my culture, they will all be talking." (Bengali female, no. 20)

They often feel that the only space they can appropriate is within their own homes. This is something they are not used to. Although they were unable to appropriate public space at all in their home countries, a wide variety of 'female-centered spaces' existed. So in immigrating, they have seen the space that they are able to appropriate shrink enormously, even though in actual fact the space they are able to physically move through has increased substantially.

> "We used to go over the roofs to see our friends, we didn't even use the main door. But here the mens are not supposed to follow me in the street. And when I am in discussing with my friend in the park, a lot of time we have to move somewhere else because the mens won't let us just sit there by ourselves. It's not supposed to be like this. So instead of being out like at home, we sit inside." (Bengali female, no. 25)

This "shrinkage" of the space they feel able to occupy is due to their sense of personal safety in public space, the cultural values of their ethnocultural community, and to their own internalization of what is socially acceptable or not in public space. This makes them feel as though they cannot stay long in public space unless they are part of a group of women.

The inverse is also true. Female South Asian respondents (plus our lone male Sri Lankan) all report that their husbands, brothers, and other male relatives feel the same way they do. They say that South Asian men complain that they can only hover around the outside of the park, or else are confined to the northern section (they all prefer the southern section) during the afternoon and early evening because there are too many women and children in the park. Some avoid the park altogether during these 'peak times'.

> "Sometimes my husband really doesn't want to go there, he says "this place is only for the women". When he goes, he sees only the women, because they all go with their kids. So he don't like to go then." (Bengali female, no. 26)

Other South Asian men whom the researcher met over the course of fieldwork (but who declined to be formally interviewed for this project) said that they miss the dominance over public space that they have in their home countries. They often feel dislocated by the shift in power in terms of their relative importance within their new society and by the way relations between men and women are carried out. They also feel unable to appropriate space in other areas of Montreal because they suddenly feel like powerless minorities, a sensation that is completely new to them.

The shrinkage of space and the inability to appropriate space occurs for both genders and for those belonging to different ethnocultural groups. Respondents belonging to the older immigrant groups feel that newer groups have essentially pushed them out of public space, and those belonging to South Asian groups feel that the more established groups (usually considered to be "Black") are in control of public space. These dynamics and perceptions echo the findings of Elias and Scotson (1965) in a completely different ethnocultural and social context. Interactions between individuals belonging to established and newer ethnic groups occur through the mechanisms of peaceful coexistence, conflict over lifeways and practices, and the appropriation of space, forming a major part of public life in this multiethnic area.

6.2.3 The Impact of Multiethnicity on Local Public Spaces

Changing socio-demographics and the increasing cultural diversity of the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights have been examined via the angle of public space uses, preferences, and interactions. The impact of these demographic changes on public spaces themselves is an element that emerged out of interviews with all respondents. The greatest impact occurs at the level of the diversity of uses and demands being placed on public spaces, since not all public spaces are accommodating these new uses and pressures with ease.

a) The overuse or excessive use of space

All 26 residents believe that increasing population size in the sector and changing immigrant waves have negatively affected the physical condition of many public spaces. They all feel that many public spaces in their neighbourhood are both overused and excessively used. Three-quarters say that there are too many people living in the area for a limited number of spaces. In other words, the population exceeds the carrying capacity of the local environment.

Residents living on the street since the early 1990's feel that steady population growth over the past decade has directly affected the cleanliness of the public environment. Garbage production has increased along with the amount of 'irregular' garbage disposal practices, and respondents feel that the City has not adapted its garbage collection and street cleaning schedules to this reality.

> "One of the biggest problems on the street is the lack of space. It's this crowding together that causes problems. If there was more space in the houses and around them, people would take better care of it, they would feel more like they could breathe. There would be less garbage, less litter." (Sri Lankan female, no. 3)

All these residents note that the number of park users has increased dramatically since the early 1990's. While many of the study's respondents enjoy the increased animation in the park, others are not convinced. Most South Asian women like the fact that the park is heavily used. However, most feel that the southern section is too crowded at peak times, and remark that there is little breathing room sometimes in this area. For example, the newest arrival in our sample (a Bengali

woman who immigrated in 1998) feels that there are too many people in the park, especially from her culture of origin. She prefers public spaces that are less crowded, and dreams of living in a "non-Asian" neighbourhood because she would like to be able to act freer in public space without attracting gossip. West Indian, Haitian, Canadian-born, and Latin American respondents dislike this increased crowding in the park as well.

Quite a few respondents of all ethnic origins and periods of immigration feel that there are more children wanting to use the play areas in the park than the park was designed to accommodate. This results in overuse of play equipment and surrounding areas, which, in their opinion, contributes to the rapid degradation of new or repaired park facilities and landscaping.

> "I think a lot of problems are caused by not enough space, not because people come from different places. Like in the park, there isn't enough play-things for everyone. Sometimes there is fighting all the time, you hear "it's mine, it's mine". The kids are fighting to get on the swings. So of course the swings will break. It's like that all over the park." (Sri Lankan female, no. 18)

> "I've seen a lot of changes around here, and I can tell you for sure that there are more people living here than before. There are more people than before in the park. You have two or three kids all using the same swing. It's no wonder that it's starting to look shabby again. I think we managed to get a lot of things repaired, painted, replaced. But the benches are breaking again, because people sit there anyways even when they're starting to break." (Haitian male, no. 10)

Almost all the South Asian respondents in this study mentioned that large and extended families in their communities are forced to cram into very small apartments if they want to stay in the area. South Asians all feel that they have much less physical space in Mountain Sights than they did in their home countries, where most had sufficient outdoor space around their house (or inside) to store all their belongings. Here, most do not even have access to a storage space or locker in the basement, and therefore are forced to keep some things out in the hallway or on their balconies. This was not an issue mentioned by Canadian-born, West Indian, Haitian, or Latin American respondents.

b) The ability of public space to accommodate increasing "multiethnicity"

In addition to being excessively used, half of residents in this sample feel that public and private spaces are accommodating the increasing number and cultural diversity of users with great difficulty (the others did not mention this at all). These residents (all West Indian, Canadian-born, Haitian, Sri Lankan, and Pakistani individuals living in the area for over fifteen years) believe that overcrowding and excessive use of space was not an issue prior to the mid-1990's, because they feel that newer South Asian immigrants have brought very different cultural and social habits with them. They are outdoors more than individuals belonging to the older immigrant groups are, and for much longer periods of time. Large groups of men, women, or families install themselves in the park for an entire afternoon or evening. Their children use the southern section of the park continuously, even after dark. This is very different from the small groups of teenagers who used to hang out on the basketball court or the small groups of West Indians, Haitians, or Indians who gathered in the northern section of the park.

Individuals in this group of respondents also pointed out that no sooner is new play equipment put in than part of it is broken by sheer force of use. Buildings have been suffering from increasing humidity and continued cockroach infestations. Increases in the number of large parties or celebratory activities in public or semi-public space have also had an effect. Several South Asian respondents in this group noted that newer South Asian arrivals are used to holding these type of activities in very densely populated and densely built areas, since this was their habit back home. However, this does not mean that these uses are not leaving signs of wear and tear on their new environment. This is not wear and tear that has occurred over a decade or two, but over a period of several years. However, with few other alternatives available, space is at a premium in the neighbourhood. As eight residents pointed out, the park cannot theoretically get any bigger, it cannot accommodate more equipment, building interiors cannot suddenly become larger, and there is very little vacant land available on nearby streets on which to construct spatial alternatives.

One important observation that bears mention is that 21 respondents report that the neighbourhood has an overall shabby appearance that contributes to the sense of insecurity, which is exacerbated by increasing cultural diversity and by mounting population pressure on the

local environment. The aspect that was mentioned the most involves the belief that a growing number of unsafe practices in buildings (Hindu altars, for example) might cause fire or safety hazards. The second most commonly mentioned aspect came as a bit of a surprise to the researcher. Over half of all respondents (all immigrants from the West Indies or South Asia who arrived prior to 1991) linked new immigrants with the threat of disease. In this perception, large numbers of immigrants who are not used to urban ways of life are believed to create unsanitary or unhealthy environmental conditions in the neighbourhood due to their habits or practices.

> "New immigrants only care about making more money, not about what the street looks like or how clean they keep it. People from India and Pakistan have different attitudes towards littering and garbage. They just throw their garbage out a window or dump it on the lawn. They couldn't be bothered with putting it into bags and bringing it to the garbage bin." (Filipino female, no. 17)

> "We have no cockroach here in this building, probably because there's no Sri Lankan people or Chinese people here. It's only white people, like Romanian and Russian and Bulgarian and Mexican. You need to really clean your apartment, but the other people don't care, and when your apartment is too greasy, the cockroaches are coming in." (Bengali female, no. 20)

Things such as unbagged garbage left lying around outside the buildings or in the alleys (ranging from whole lamb carcasses to vats of burned rice) attract cockroaches and vermin, which, according to these respondents, can spread disease or bacterial infections.

> "Some of the buildings keep the garbage too close to the front of the building, and sometimes it bothers me because I can see rats sometimes eating garbage out of the bins. We have cockroaches all around here, in all the buildings. It's because of the garbage, I think. I worry sometimes that I can catch something from the rats and insects and get really sick. It happens sometimes in my country."
> (Bengali female, no. 26).

The "unhygienic" habits of new immigrants are believed to affect the health of those who use public spaces after them. Respondents mention such things as "Hindus" who take ritual baths in the wading pool, children who go to the bathroom "wherever and whenever they want", or residents who know their children have intestinal parasites but refuse to keep them at home or to treat them properly. Since many of these things are not necessarily restricted to new immigrant groups, this type of perception is significant since it has to do with the ways that more established groups perceive newer arrivals. Throughout North American history, new immigrants

have been accused of spreading disease through their 'unclean' habits, and immigrant reception areas (or lower income areas) have often been considered to be unhealthy and pestilent (MacKay, 1990).

c) The suitability of public spaces for current social realities

Every single resident interviewed for this study feels that public spaces in their neighbourhood are not well suited to the type, diversity, and frequency of use being demanded of them. However, in a neighbourhood with few spatial alternatives, residents are forced to make do with what they have. By all accounts, residents have become very adept at adapting existing public spaces to their own ends. These are usually spaces that serve a certain function (building foyers, for example), but because they are 'empty' they are seen as being open to other uses. Spaces that are programmed for one use become informally programmed for other uses, which are often said to replicate spatial practices common in immigrants' home countries. Several respondents also pointed out that there is a good deal of cross-adoption of spatial practices by residents belonging to different ethnic groups. For example, two Sri Lankan women said that when they first came to Mountain Sights, they noticed that West Indian teenagers were hanging out in their building lobby. Because no one seemed to be telling them to move, eventually these women began letting their children play there, using it as a sort of courtyard with their female friends.

Adapting available public spaces to other ends does not mean that the new use is necessarily appropriate. For this reason, respondents all feel that existing outdoor and indoor spaces need tweaking in order to become better suited to current realities. They believe that it is a matter of deciding what fundamental uses and needs these spaces should incorporate, and then inserting smaller and more ethno-specific spaces into them in a way that does not detract from the space's overall use. Some examples include:

1. Common areas in buildings that can be used as party rooms or recreation rooms.
2. More recreational opportunities for teenagers.
3. Female spaces such as collective kitchens or courtyard-type areas.
4. Adaptable living units (moveable walls, etc.).
5. Private enclosed spaces in the park that mimic enclosed female spaces in some South Asian parks.

6. Converting the east-side alley into a green space or courtyard.
7. Municipal acceptance of alternative uses in private dwelling units (prayer groups, home businesses, etc.), which would force users to conform to existing safety norms.

In summary then, interviews with residents showed that the vast majority believe that local public spaces cannot accommodate the needs and wants of a steadily expanding multiethnic population in their current incarnation. The entrance of a substantially different wave of immigrants has altered and affected the use and appearance of the lived environment. Canadian-born and more established immigrants (of all ethnic origins) often react in a negative or pejorative way to what they perceive as being the less integrated practices and habits of newer arrivals. Despite this, different ways of doing coexist rather peacefully because the values and meanings that underlie these uses are commonly-shared (public spaces as gathering spaces, the celebratory nature of public spaces, for example). Non-negotiable cultural values and beliefs tend to be tolerated in practice, even if other residents do not privately agree with them. The result is that public spaces have become a patchwork quilt of different uses and changing appropriations that are either culturally different or commonly-shared. Many spaces and their infrastructure are then excessively used as a whole, notwithstanding the difficulty of having to support a wide range of activities that they were not designed to accommodate but which are important to different cultural groups in the neighbourhood.

There are two issues at work here in terms of public space planning. The first involves what might be called 'static programming', which means that once a space is designed and programmed, it is rarely re-evaluated (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995). Our findings suggest that static programming should be replaced by multi-dimensional spaces that are subject to re-evaluation within a specified time frame (this point will be discussed in Chapter 8). The second involves the dilemma of lack of spatial alternatives in a context where the population is steadily growing and becoming more diversified. How can the different needs and concerns of different groups be addressed in such a context? We will explore this dilemma further in subsequent chapters.

6.3 THE PROCESS OF LOCAL PLANNING AND IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS

Although a substantial tradition of informal planning action exists in the neighbourhood, as was outlined in section 5.2.5 of Chapter 5, the way that planning actions and interventions have been operating in this multiethnic context is unknown. In addition, the rise of a grassroots or informal planning tradition usually suggests that residents' concerns are not being addressed in a way that they find satisfactory (Briassoulis, 1998; Rabrenovic, 1996). In order to examine both of these issues, this section will highlight interview findings that address the following elements: how and why some residents have become actively involved in local planning efforts, the gendered nature of involvement, the planning process, the difficulties encountered when doing planning in a multiethnic context, and the extent to which immigrants incorporate planning methods from their home countries into their planning actions in the neighbourhood.

6.3.1 Involvement in Local Planning Efforts

Respondents can be divided into two main groups regarding involvement in local planning efforts. One group of 20 has been very involved in planning actions or in peripheral activities, and the other group of 6 has never been involved at all.

Among the group of 20 involved residents, roughly one third were members of the first Residents' Association, one third were members of the second Residents' Association at the time of their interview, and the remaining one third were part of the Community Garden Committee or the Women's Group. Their participation and involvement in these residents' groups can be characterized as "fluid", since it waxes and wanes according to their life circumstances. For example, none of the respondents who were members of the first Residents' Association are active now. Their activity profile begins in the 1980's and early 90's, when quite a few were volunteering with community-based organizations, ethnocultural associations, or church groups in the Côte des Neiges area. Many were also active in their home countries. For instance, one respondent was highly involved in the community council of his home village in Sri Lanka. The transition to planning activism occurred because these respondents believe that their neighbourhood should be of a certain quality, regardless of whether or not they are planning to

stay there over the long term. They therefore decided to try and improve the environment themselves since they felt that the neighbourhood has been abandoned by the City.

> "Apart from all the problems we were having with the buildings and the street, our problems didn't fit into the duties of any of the services that groups around here deal with. And our problems didn't mean anything to the City. So we formed the Residents' Association to help with these problems. If we had a choice, we would choose that the City take care of things. But they really don't care." (West Indian female, no. 2)

However, these respondents are no longer involved because their life circumstances have changed (one has since moved to Toronto, another went back to school, another started up a daycare) or because they feel unwanted and burned out.

> "I still go to meetings some times, but not that often. They don't like me too much over there. They told me that there's been improvement since we left. I told them that I don't really see it, and that they don't like. We were let down by the City, they didn't do all the things that they said they would, and this new group doesn't want to hold them to it. [...] I don't have the energy for this anymore, it's been going on for too long." (Haitian male, no. 10)

The trajectory is different for those belonging to the second Residents' Association. All were originally members of the Women's Group, some from its inception in 1994. Most were bystanders in the planning efforts of the first Residents' Association, because they had too many family or work responsibilities at that time or because they had just arrived in Canada. Their interest in the efforts of the Residents' Association grew over time, particularly when they saw the results of these efforts in public space. The immigrant settlement trajectory played a large role in determining the involvement of more recent immigrants in local planning efforts, since their level of involvement increased proportionally to their growing familiarity with their new context and their sense of personal stability.

> "When people first immigrate here, they don't know enough to want to fix things up. I was like that at first, then I developed. When I came here, I learned many things because I didn't have this experience in my country. It took me two or three years to get involved in the residents' group once I was developed." (Bengali female, no. 20)

Those who are only involved with the Community Garden Committee or the Women's Group cite personal interest as the motivating factor. They all feel that they cannot currently make the temporal and physical commitment required for membership in the Residents' Association, although they like to participate in its activities now and then. However, most of them had higher levels of involvement in the different residents' groups in the neighbourhood before a life-changing situation forced them to cut back (returning to full-time studies, the birth of a child, finding a full-time job).

Among the group of six non-involved residents, none have ever been involved in any type of volunteer activity. Their children rarely go to the Community Centre and they themselves do not volunteer with any community group although some attend a place of worship on a regular basis. There is no correlation here with period of immigration, ethnicity, or gender. The main factor is lack of personal interest in volunteer or community activities. Three respondents have no idea that a local Residents' Association even exists. While the remaining respondents appreciate the fact that residents are taking action to improve local public spaces, they do not want to be involved in these efforts themselves.

> "I know about the street cleaning and the garden. Would I be interested in joining a group like that? It's like, I'm always trying to do my own stuff, cause like I'm just working, coming home, working, cleaning. Between work and having a child your life is like all captured. And the little Saturday and Sunday I have I'd like to try to enjoy it, you know, keep up with my friends."
> (Canadian-born female, no. 6)

Involvement in planning actions therefore depends on several factors. The first factor is a genuine interest in helping other residents improve public spaces in the neighbourhood. The second is a personal history of involvement in different types of volunteer activities, from church groups to community organizations. This "involved personality" corresponds to that found among highly involved individuals in other studies on involvement in political and community group activities in Montreal (Quéniart and Jacques, 2004). The leap to self-help planning efforts is easy for these individuals to make. On the other hand, residents who are rarely involved in any sort of organized community activity never make the leap.

6.3.2 The Gendered Nature of Involvement

The most striking aspect of informal planning efforts in the neighbourhood is their gendered nature. Despite the fact that the earliest planning actions in the neighbourhood (those leading up to the police sweep of 1994) were dominated by men, the majority of respondents feel that the planning process in Mountain Sights is "female". First of all, women are very present during the planning process. While both women and men belonged to the first Residents' Association, women now outnumber men during all community development activities in the neighbourhood.

> "It's always women. We were the ones who started the community garden, the daycare, the cleaning bee. In the Women's Group. There are hardly any men who get with us at all. One or two, always the same ones. Maybe because we're raising our children here, so we're used to looking after things."
> (West Indian female, no. 1)

Second, the majority of involved residents (17) consider that the approach used is geared towards community empowerment, and has led to the empowerment of women as a result. This confirms the findings of other studies on grassroots environmental movements. Often initiated by women concerned about the health and safety of their children, these small scale endeavours often evolve into highly politicized forums (Krauss, 1998; Haywoode, 1991; Brodkin Sacks, 1988).

Half of all female respondents (12) said that many women get involved because they are not working outside the home. However, many involved women were, or are, working full time in addition to being active in planning activities, a fact that seems to contradict this perception. On the other hand, other women reported having to scale back their activities if work or family demands become too great, as the burden of domestic work and child-care is believed to fall almost entirely on women's shoulders in this neighbourhood.

For involved South Asian female respondents (13), being part of these activities, even on the periphery, has helped them feel more empowered on a personal level, and they devote even more energy to these activities as a result. The flip side is that quite a few have withdrawn from planning activities in order to start up their own small business, drawing on the organizational and management knowledge they gained through these planning actions (contacts they had made, or the ability to find sources of small business funding). In their home countries, many

women in this group were not able to work outside the home or be active in public life. In moving to Canada, they were looking forward to furthering their education, finding employment, and becoming more independent in general. This has not been so simple, however, due to more 'traditional' spouses, the absence of the extended family for child-care and household support, or to their inability to find a job that they wanted or to get accepted into the educational program of their choice. Working outside the home with a residents' group then becomes an attractive option. Other South Asian female respondents had previously been involved in community development activities in their home country or in other Montreal neighbourhoods, so it seemed logical for them to get involved in activities in Mountain Sights.

One major problem experienced by this group of South Asian women has been the effect on their marriage. In half of these cases, their spouses gradually came to accept (and even appreciate) their involvement in the community, and sometimes even took on more domestic duties at home. But for the other half, it led to marital disruption – to separation or problems of domestic violence.

The effect of community sanction is felt by all women involved in these activities, but in very different ways. Some West Indian and Haitian women have become community leaders (one is the president of the Community Centre's Board of Directors) and they believe that their involvement is highly regarded in their community. This is not the case for South Asian women, who feel that they often have to battle the negative feelings directed towards them by other South Asians who feel that they are "stepping out of line".

What about the low participation levels among men? By all accounts, it is very difficult to get men in the neighbourhood involved. Men who have been involved are either janitors or else are what might be called "community leaders". Involved men come from very specific ethnocultural groups (West Indian, Haitian, Indian, and Sri Lankan). There are no Pakistani or Bengali men involved in local planning efforts, nor from any other ethnocultural group on the street. Both male and female respondents said that most men do not want to get involved due to lack of interest or to career demands (overtime, shift work, two jobs held at once). Many men had jobs in their home countries that offered greater flexibility than the ones that they have in Montreal (either they owned their own business or else had jobs where attendance was not compulsory). In Montreal, they often work in the manufacturing sector or in other non-professional occupations

that have odd or long hours. The notion of doing volunteer work also sits badly for some. As one male respondent pointed out, after work he wants to enjoy his time off, not spend it "working for free".

> "I don't want to be part of no committee. If people came to me and asked that I join some kind of pressure group thing, it would depend on whether it fit into my schedule. I work nights, I'm spending very little time with my family as is, so there's no way I'm giving my time out to somebody else. If I was getting paid to do it, then I'd do it." (Canadian-born male, no. 9)

The other most commonly cited reason (by three-quarters of respondents) is that men do not want to get involved in what is perceived to be a female activity.

> "I can say for Indian Patel men, they just don't like to get involved in anything. My husband's the same. He works 60 hours a week, and he's just too tired. Plus, he doesn't have the patience to sit there through the meetings. [...] There are no men involved here, so other men aren't going to get involved if it's all women. I made him come along once and it was all women. He looked like he was going to strangle me." (Indian female, no. 22)

The culture of male machismo on the street means that men who would have participated in similar events in their home countries will not do so in Mountain Sights, especially now that the second Residents' Association is composed entirely of women.

> "The men, they never get involved in community involvement, like the residents' committee. In Pakistan, they have these committees, but there mostly the men do. Womens is also, but most part its men who do. I don't know why they don't want to do it here. It's strange. Even I ask my husband many time, cause he can fight, he can speak very good, he can speak English, French, but he say "no, I don't want". He say "you go and see, I don't want to get involved with all these women". A lot of men here is like this." (Pakistani female, no. 13)

The exception to this rule is the Community Garden, as there are more South Asian men wanting to get involved than can be accommodated. All the Sri Lankan and Indian female respondents in this study said that their menfolk like the idea of 'owning' their own plot of agricultural land. The community garden then seems to have a male connotation for South Asian men, which means they are more willing to get involved.

As these findings suggest, the male-female divide jumps out as being one of the major inter-group differences that affects and shapes the nature and outcome of planning efforts in this multiethnic neighbourhood.

6.3.3 Attitudes and Perceptions of the Planning or Intervention Process

The process of resident-led planning action in the neighbourhood can be summed up in one word: grassroots. All involved residents feel that their approach (a lobby group pitting itself against the City) is the most appropriate and effective one given the context (a minority neighbourhood that is perceived as being overlooked by the City).

> "It's the people that are asking for things on Mountain Sights. It's the people who are invest here. Of course it's better if people do things as a community, it's good because everybody can say they make it good if they are a group. If only one man is asking, it's no good, but if everybody's saying something at the same time to make something to ask, then it's good. It's working for us."
> (Sri Lankan male, no. 15)

The methods used by the various residents' groups were developed out of trial and error. Nine out of 20 involved respondents said that in the beginning, they had no idea what kind of results their actions would bring. Initially, they found public authorities very closed off to their requests and felt hampered by the negative image that public actors seemed to have of the neighbourhood. They then began developing planning proposals (description of context and need, description of elements requested and their rationale, mode of implementation desired, and probable cost) and presenting these to public authorities as big-ticket items designed to have a maximum impact in public space and to benefit everyone in the neighbourhood. Deciding what item to take action on was not an easy step, since members reported that they often had different viewpoints than non-involved residents did on what was needed in local public spaces and on what would have the best chance of succeeding when put before the City. Achieving consensus on which course of action to prioritize then had to be made among group members first before being presented to the community at large, which by all accounts was not a simple exercise. They also found that achieving consensus among residents to be a considerably more difficult task, due to the multiplicity of requests and opinions. They learned over time that it was easier to earn the approval of "the community" if they presented the items they were going to take action on as being for the good of everyone and something that the neighbourhood direly needed. To a large

extent, as we will see shortly, this means that they made the deliberate decision to intervene in areas that they felt would satisfy "the common public interest", as opposed to wading into the complexity of ethno-specific differences.

> "I tried to get a cockroach program going. But not everyone else agreed with me, they wanted to do other things first, like the garbage. [...] We fight a lot in the meetings, we don't always agree. And these immigrants they are not always agree with us also. So we have to spending the time to make sure that everyone agrees with everyone on the big things that are good for all of us. That's the longest part. The small things we put away." (Sri Lankan female, no. 3)

Members of the first Residents' Association said that group members decided early on that they would function best as a small confrontational group made up of individuals with very specific roles (secretary, treasurer, etc.). On the other hand, members of the second Residents' Association wanted to have a more open structure and to pursue a less confrontational approach. There are distinct inter-ethnic group differences here. Involved Haitians in the current residents' group want a more formal, long-term, and self-reliant approach, while the South Asians want a more take it as it comes, work within the system approach based on obtaining smaller short-term items and services.

> "I find that other people in the group don't take their position seriously enough. They just want to work on little things that are easy to get. [...] The only other way of getting things around here has been to do *manifestations*, but it has not been easy, and they prefer now to work on a model of *rapprochement*. We can do a lot more, but the other ladies are just happy with what they've done so far." (Haitian female, no. 19)

Group members belonging to both the first and second Residents' Association often feel frustrated by City employees and community group workers who "don't listen well", who want to impose their own ways of doing things during local planning activities, or who do not come through as promised. On the other hand, involved residents are well aware that they would have never obtained the results that they did if they had not benefited from the technical and political support of outside actors who "value the same things we do".

The length of time that it took to plan, lobby for, and implement an action was emphasized by eight involved residents. When they began, they had no idea how long-term some of their projects would end up being. For example, it took several years to obtain and establish the

community garden, especially since their guiding philosophy clashed with that of many decision-makers in the Parks Department. These Parks Department employees reportedly believed that privately-owned infrastructure had no place in a public park, and a community garden in which each garden plot could only 'belong' to an individual or family residing on Mountain Sights was considered to be a private use of public space. If the community garden were to be open to all park users, it could be considered to be a public garden and might therefore be acceptable. It took over a year and a half to convince the Parks Department that a community garden open only to residents of Mountain Sights made sense given the lower income immigrant context of the neighbourhood and the fact that most park users were residents of Mountain Sights. This is one example of where an instrumental form of ethnicity and class was manipulated through 'language-games' (Eriksen, 1998) to forward a political agenda.

This emphasis on "the context" was brought up by almost all involved residents (17). Half the battle was apparently spent convincing public authorities that the item requested made sense in the context of Mountain Sights. Respondents report that authorities often refused requests for "host society" items such as a hockey rink, on the basis that "hockey is not a sport that immigrants in the area will play". Trying to overcome these ethno-centric perceptions of what immigrants need and want in public space was therefore a major problem.

Implementation and management was considered by many to be one of the most harrowing aspects of the local planning process. Learning to manage their public spaces and new infrastructure collectively was often difficult because they had no prior experience in infrastructure management.

> "Did we get results? I guess we did. [...] It's one thing to get what you ask for. But then you have to look after it. That's another thing. We weren't prepared." (Haitian male, no. 10)

The basic outline of the local planning process in Mountain Sights looks very similar to the collaborative approach suggested by authors such as Patsy Healey (1997), where communicative process is used to ensure that consensus is built and that the voice of minority groups is heard by higher authorities.

6.3.4 The Difficulty of Doing Planning in a Multiethnic Context

The planning process in a multiethnic neighbourhood has its fair share of benefits and difficulties. Eighteen involved respondents said that in some respects, planning actions are easier in a multiethnic context because high levels of cultural diversity help smooth out differences. Echoing the findings of Albrow (1997), these respondents report that if the neighbourhood was mainly Bengali or Sri Lankan, for example, there would be a lot more infighting going on. But when the neighbourhood is highly mixed, a certain balance is created between different groups and interests. For these respondents, this is beneficial because it enables individuals from different ethnic groups to join together to promote their commonalities rather than their differences at the level of political decision-making. In fact, the way that individual respondents describe this 'unity despite difference' in the local planning process is remarkably similar to Parekh's (2000) notion of political community within a multicultural context.

> "Everyone organizes, plans, and manages things. Just because I have certain customs and you don't doesn't mean that we can't work together. It's just a matter of finding out what works and how we can all work together. It takes time, but in the end it works because we can eliminate all the things that we don't understand about each other and concentrate on the bigger things [...] that get noticed by the City." (Mexican female, no. 23)

This "sweeping difference under the carpet" is a common sentiment because it allows involved residents to forge ahead with a common project without having to pause and sort through too many conflicting demands.

The paradox is that some things are much harder to do in a multiethnic neighbourhood. Two main difficulties emerged from our interview findings. The first concerns the difficulty of mobilizing and organizing residents around a common objective, and the second involves inter-ethnic differences that cause conflict during group meetings. With respect to the first point, respondents complain that not everyone in the neighbourhood seems interested in getting involved in local improvement efforts or in cooperating with popular education campaigns. They have a hard job getting a sufficient number of residents to show up at their meetings or information-gathering/giving sessions. Female respondents who do door-to-door work all feel that this is very difficult to do in an immigrant context, because: 1. many new immigrants do not

understand English or French very well, 2. gender barriers mean that men of some cultures do not feel comfortable in the presence of a strange woman, 3. most new immigrants are not ready to get involved in community development work since they have not "developed" yet (this is a term that was often used by South Asians), 4. new immigrants do not feel the need to help keep the environment clean or to help "make Mountain Sights a better place to live", and 5. immigrants are sometimes wary of any intrusion into their private lives, due to their immigrant status or their personal trajectory.

> "The problem is reaching the people who don't participate and who are part of the problem. Many are new immigrants. They are usually the people who don't respect the garbage and other civic regulations. If you send them information in the mail or give out a flyer, they just toss it aside. A lot of them they just don't care. They bring the habit of not caring from their country to here, and they stay with the habit. A lot of people sometimes they don't read or speak French or English so they don't know what it is. Or they don't want us knocking at their door. This sometimes puts us at a loss." (West Indian female, no. 2)

Interestingly, non-involved residents often accuse members of the Residents' Association (and community group workers as well) of being patronizing when they talk to them. French Canadian community group workers are perceived most negatively. In one example, a community worker knocks on a woman's door and tells her that because she is on welfare, her child can be registered for a free day camp offered by the Community Centre (the woman is not on welfare...). West Indian respondents sometimes accuse South Asians of being curt and impolite, while South Asians often say that they have a problem adapting their speech-style to English. Then there are issues such as eye contact, refusal or acceptance of refreshment at a visitor's house, or the accepted behaviour and conversational style between women and men.

> "It's not hard to work with multiethnic people, but some people are not open-minded to understand what is others' meaning. And when everybody is a different culture it can be really hard. The mentality of the peoples, their culture, their different ways of talking. Like my voice is so bad, every time when I talk they say like I'm insulting them or I'm talking bad to them. But really, it's the way that we speak." (Pakistani female, no. 12)

One of the major stumbling blocks therefore has to do with culturally different communication styles.

> "When you talk to new arrivals, you need to develop very sensitive approaches to explain to them that the climate here is not like that where they come from. It's not easy, because the way I would talk to another Haitian might seem rude to a Sri Lankan." (Haitian female, no. 19)

In terms of culturally-based difficulties that arise within the various residents' groups, involved respondents report that conflict often erupts at meetings over what people of different cultures want to see done, and how. Usually, this conflict is simply the result of language barriers or cultural communication problems (misunderstanding others' emotional reactions, non-verbal cues, or intrinsic needs and wants). Conflict resolution, or resolution of differences, is almost always reported to follow a pattern of negotiation or mediation, although reliance on the group leader in making the final decision when consensus cannot be reached also occurs.

> "Different places means different opinions. It accents problems. But I think that if you find a good leader, who have courage and can speak like politically, that makes people forget their differences. You don't have to be telling people what to do, that just makes them argue more. It's better if one person has the strength to take a side and end the argument. And if the others respect that person, then they listen." (Filipino female, no. 17)

Recourse to written rules is also sometimes used to resolve insurmountable differences. Involved residents sometimes say that they use the rules in their rules-manual or municipal regulations to help make a decision when there is too much conflict. This does not mean that they feel that the 'rules' that exist are appropriate or reflect their reality, merely that they help provide direction when nothing else seems to work. Conflict resolution in this case follows Susskind and Cruikshank's (1987) model. Here, conflict resolution begins with negotiation and mediation between different parties, but if a compromise cannot be reached, recourse to neutral and pre-existing guidelines (by-laws, jurisprudence, etc.) can help settle the issue. Baum (2000: 115) also discusses this type of conflict resolution in his study of inter-group differences among members of the Jewish community in Baltimore involved in institutional planning actions. Over the course of his research, he found that social planning approaches (similar to those put forward by Greed, 1999, and Thomas, 1995) are the ones that can best bring culturally diverse groups and

individuals together to identify what dissatisfies them, imagine alternatives, and work through their differences by whatever means possible (mediation, arbitration, voting, recourse to a neutral body) in order to finally begin to work in solidarity for a cause.

> "Some people will say, "hey, do like that and like that", and sometimes you can't. Sometimes we have a big problem because of this. It's more hard when everybody comes from different places. But if you follow the rules for the City of Montreal, then it's no problem. And plus we have our members' house rules, made by the committee. It ends the argument." (Sri Lankan male, no. 15)

6.3.5 Incorporation of "Foreign" Planning Approaches

It makes sense that immigrants involved in planning efforts in Mountain Sights would draw on familiar models from their home countries. Interviews sought to find out how this affects the way immigrant residents do planning in multiethnic neighbourhoods, and whether or not they believe that planning approaches in their home countries have something to offer in their new context.

Three groups emerged. The first group has no opinion on the matter, because these five respondents (of all origins) have no idea how planning operates in their home country. Either they immigrated to Canada at a very young age or else they never paid any attention to this before immigrating.

The second group is the largest, made up of respondents from Haiti, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India. They all report that their countries have formal planning systems that are theoretically accessible to ordinary citizens and that offer basic planning services (utilities, infrastructure, a land title registry, and building permission). In reality, however, the system favours those with money and connections. Without these, people can request as many services as they like, but they will never receive anything. The only options available to ordinary citizens are either to accept the status quo, to mobilize as a group to put pressure on public authorities, or to take more extreme action – self-help or politically subversive actions (strikes, guerrilla tactics, etc.). In other cases, mobilization is out of the question due to the political climate, since it might lead to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.

> "My country's not developed, it's like in a very very bad state. Our roads are so bad, the living situation is so bad, hospitals and roads and traffic, it's really horrible there. If you have a problem with that, you can't do anything. Unless you want to get involved in political groups, but so many people vanish that way. [...] Over there, there's nothing we can do, we just wait for things to change." (Pakistani female, no. 12)

The third group is composed solely of respondents from the West Indies and Latin America. While they feel that the planning systems in their home countries are fairly well structured and essentially accessible to ordinary citizens, many cases exist where public authorities are not responsive to people's needs, and so self-help action is very common. This includes shantytowns and *favelas*, the 're-taking' of federally-held lands for housing development by activist groups, self-help action in urban neighbourhoods, the creation of informal land banks and credit unions, etc.

The common thread tying the latter two groups together is the idea that residents have to work around the system in order to get what they want. For example, Haitian respondents said that it is useless to request better or decent services from municipal authorities in Haiti, and so residents of a village, street, or neighbourhood usually just take care of these things themselves, either through collective action or by turning some aspects over to local leaders.

> "If there are alleyways in Haiti that are unclean, it would be the job of residents to get together and talk about what we'll do. In Haiti, everyone knows everyone else, so if someone is littering we'll find someone to go speak to him, somebody with authority in our neighbourhood. Otherwise, we'll just get together and clean it up ourselves. [...] That's why I always have "*l'esprit de l'équipe en moi*" and I always want to get people together so we can work on things together. That's the same custom I had in Haiti. I don't see things as being just for me, I see them as being good for everyone." (Haitian female, no. 19)

Likewise for respondents from Bangladesh, India, and the Philippines. Since an individual request will somehow get "lost" or placed under a pile of hundreds of other requests, the best way to obtain attention is for a group of affected people (the larger and more vocal the better) to make a collective visit to local politicians and public authorities.

> "If there is a problem in Dhaka, we have to apply to the government. In some areas it takes a long time, others no. So we just go to a Ministry office and complain. Especially during elections we go and apply, and we usually get the thing solved right away. [...] In residents' areas at home, we are organizing. Everybody meets and we go to the City all together. When we apply to the government, we're always going together. One person alone, it's easy to ignore." (Bengali female, no. 20)

In both India and Sri Lanka, local community councils reportedly do much of the lobbying and negotiating with higher authorities on behalf of village residents.

> "In India, from what I've seen, they try to get everyone together to fix it. I don't think the City does much. People who all live on one street really see it as their street. They have groups of people in the villages who tend to take charge and deal with the politicians, it's like that in every village and in every neighbourhood in India." (Indian female, no. 22)

The same approach is also perceived to be common in the West Indies and Mexico. Our Mexican respondent remarked that a large number of people are still forced to rely on self-help or on the assistance of local community organizers to obtain even the most basic and fundamental of services.

> "My husband comes from a place in Mexico that's very poor. The priest there founded a lot of community works, like a school that's staffed by student teachers. His community centre also ran a collective kitchen, as well as support for the elderly. The community there is now very close because of this. A lot of children and mothers there now run small cooking businesses or little stalls. [...] It's like what they're trying to do here." (Mexican female, no. 23)

On the other hand, many respondents (15) said that the wheels of bureaucracy turn so slowly and are so demanding that people often simply ignore the existing regulations and essentially build as they see fit. In return, as long as the use has not received too many complaints, planning or municipal officials tend to ignore the fact that these uses or structures contravene formal regulations or general municipal guidelines. The flip side of this is that even when the site poses an immediate safety hazard, the reaction is often the same.

This affects how many respondents do planning in Mountain Sights, because the notion of taking planning matters into their own hands and of grouping together to force public authorities to address their requests is considered to be a natural way of dealing with these sorts of situations. This perception is interesting considering that studies on alternative or community-based planning movements among native-born populations in the United States and Canada report the same notions (Brodkin-Sacks, 1988; Bullard, 1994; Rabrenovic, 1996). This means that these types of practices may have nothing at all to do with ethnic or national origins, contrary to what our respondents suggest. On the other hand, these respondents feel frustrated and disappointed because they have to resort to these tactics in order to obtain desired municipal services in a more 'developed' country.

> "We expect to have more here than we did at home. But you're always having to ask the Ville de Montréal for little things, like in the park. It's supposed to be more developed here, we're not supposed to have to write letter and letter and letter and always be calling. [...] Sure, it's much easier here to ask for what you want and to hope to see something. But I think you shouldn't be in a position to have to hope, it should be expected." (Filipino female, no. 17)

Despite this, two thirds believe that certain features of their home countries' planning systems actually compare favourably against the Montreal system. For example, the amount of decision-making and budgetary power delegated to local community councils or committees is sometimes considered to be a feature that should be grafted onto the municipal planning system in Montreal.

One aspect that many residents appreciated in their home countries was the willingness to accept requests that are not legally permitted or that deviate from formal guidelines (locating a commercial enterprise such as a restaurant on one floor of a residential building, for example). In addition, many (14) are disappointed when they encounter public authorities who do not want to create personal relationships with them, since they miss the flexibility that comes as a result.

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A polarity between two opposing planning approaches has emerged from interviews with residents. In Mountain Sights, the local planning process described by residents is based on collective and collaborative means of circumventing municipal bureaucracies, using approaches that are considered to be common in many residents' home countries. Ways of dealing with

difference include sweeping differences under the carpet or else taking the time to discuss different opinions, even if this leads to heated arguments that can only be resolved through recourse to a neutral body. Involved residents have a hard time reaching out to other residents in this multiethnic neighbourhood, especially new immigrants, and cross-cultural communication problems only complicate matters. And lastly, respondents often make a connection between unresponsive municipal administrations in their home countries and unresponsive administrations in Montreal. This link will become clearer in the following section.

6.4 MUNICIPAL PLANNING APPROACHES AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS

Involved residents interviewed for this study all believe that their way of doing planning is a favourable alternative to the formal municipal planning process. The basis for this perception rests on the perceived non-receptiveness of public authorities to minority neighbourhoods and groups (racial, ethnocultural, and immigrant minority groups). This colours the extent to which residents feel that municipal or public institutional planning interventions are appropriate in a multiethnic context, and the extent to which they feel included or excluded from the municipal planning process. It also influences the way that they think planning should be done in multiethnic areas, and how feasible they feel it is to plan for multiple publics.

6.4.1 Receptiveness to Difference

Critics of multiculturalism policies in Canada argue that multiculturalism in its current incarnation merely serves as a way to appease political conscience with respect to minority groups by masking institutionalized discrimination without actually increasing receptiveness to difference at all levels of decision-making (Hill, 2001; Henry *et al*, 2000; Bannerji, 1995, 2000a). In addition, Qadeer (1997) and Frisken and Wallace (2000) argue that the voice of minority groups or areas is often overlooked by municipal authorities for reasons of convenience, or because authorities are relatively unaware of difference or fear that they will be going against the public interest. Similarly, residents interviewed for this study feel that municipal receptiveness to cultural diversity reduces to two main factors: the ability of municipal authorities to function comfortably within a multiethnic context and their openness to other races, cultures, and religions.

a) Ability to function comfortably within a multiethnic context

Residents have very strong opinions regarding the ease or difficulty that community group workers and public authorities have when working in a multiethnic context. Respondents can be divided into two groups: one group has working experience with these actors and the other has no such working experience (and so had little to say in this respect).

The first group is composed of all 20 involved residents. These respondents divide community group workers and public authorities into two categories. One category is composed of individuals who are very comfortable working within the local dynamics of Mountain Sights, and the other category includes individuals who seem to have more difficulty doing so. Those who fall into the first category are all local actors, but this does not mean that all local actors are included in this category. Interestingly, actors singled out as being the most comfortable working with minorities and in a multiethnic neighbourhood are not necessarily those who have been working in Côte des Neiges the longest – one is a very recent arrival on the community police force, for example. Personality plays a larger role here than field experience or an actor's position. Respondents feel that these particular actors "understand them", either because they spend a considerable amount of time in the neighbourhood or because they have gone far out of their way to assist residents, even fighting with them against the municipal apparatus.

Community group workers and public authorities who are perceived as being the least comfortable working in a multiethnic context are those who were in charge of implementing a top-down planning or environmental improvement project in the neighbourhood or else are those who have decision-making power over public spaces but who "are not on our side at all" (as one Filipino resident reports). In the first case, these are outside actors who have parachuted into the neighbourhood in order to implement programs or projects that were designed as part of a City-wide implementation package (the recycling and black box project, for example). These actors seemed to have started out with good intentions, but they eventually quit, either out of frustration or because their project was not taking off. Residents accuse these actors of not taking the time to understand how people in the neighbourhood operate or to find out what was a priority there.

> "The problem was that they never did any door-to-door work here. So I don't think they did much to educate people here. And then they got all angry when their recycling program failed. And it failed because they didn't want to listen to us." (Haitian female, no. 19)

The second case involves community group workers or public authorities whose relationship with residents is somewhat testy. Over half of involved residents said that meetings with these particular actors sometimes erupted into conflict, or at the very least, left everyone feeling angry or unhappy. These actors are said to sometimes take what residents say the wrong way, misunderstanding the way that individuals belonging to different cultures express themselves.

> "She got so upset at all the yelling and screaming at the last [...] meeting that she wanted to close down the whole meeting. But it was only a couple of people talking loud, it's their way, they are always talking upset-like. But telling us that our meeting was over was not her duty. It was up to the President, and he wasn't saying anything. [...] I think she didn't take the time to listen, she just wanted to send us all home like being punished." (Pakistani female, no. 13)

Many residents said that some French Canadians actors try to impose "French Canadian" values on them, and 15 residents accuse these actors of trying to convert the neighbourhood into a French Canadian one in the hopes that this will "cure" local public space problems.

b) Openness to other racial and ethnocultural groups, and to culturally different requests

Two main observations emerged regarding the openness of community group workers and public authorities to cultural difference. The first involves racial discrimination on the part of certain actors. Overall, the majority of residents in this study (including non-involved residents) feel that their experiences with municipal authorities are usually race-neutral, with authorities treating them just like any other person making the same type of request. On the other hand, four out of nine West Indian, Haitian, or Black Canadian respondents accuse some municipal employees or community group workers of being racially prejudiced during interactions with them. In addition, nine other respondents report that some public authorities act as though their concerns are not all that serious because they are immigrants. Some also accuse these actors of having made incorrect assumptions or bad jokes about immigrants and immigrant neighbourhoods to their face.

> "They see us as poor, ignorant, misbehaving immigrants who can't keep their neighbourhood clean and safe, so why bother with us?" (Bengali female, no. 25)

The second observation has to do with the unwillingness of public authorities to consider proposals that respondents feel lie outside of the host society's reference frame. Our group of 20 involved residents all feel that municipal authorities did not take the diverse needs and wants of their neighbourhood into account when examining their planning proposals or requests. Instead, they said that these municipal employees responded to their concerns and requests in a 'by-the-book' manner, refusing to consider the particularities of Mountain Sights.

Two thirds of all respondents feel that that the City is anti-ethnic and inflexible, especially towards lower income or immigrant neighbourhoods.

> "Other areas aren't dirty around here, only this street. I think the City doesn't care. The City shouldn't been saying that immigrants are not clean and don't know any better. It's not true that because we are immigrants we are dirty. All immigrants here want to live in a clean area." (Bengali female, no. 25)

Municipal authorities are accused of either being unwilling to invest in the neighbourhood or else of preferring not to work there because they find the diverse ways of doing in a multiethnic neighbourhood difficult to deal with. Residents remark that many of these actors seem to have difficulty working in a context where not everyone understands French, where people sometimes have emotional ways of speaking or different patterns of communicating, and where residents work under different time-frames and have different modes of operation. This in turn leads these authorities to prefer to ignore certain realities in Mountain Sights. For example, municipal authorities are said to have refused to grant occupancy permits for culturally different uses (ethnic food stores or preparation businesses, prayer groups, etc.), although they have granted permits for uses that have no "culture" attached to them (a leather-working business, for example).

> "Sometimes my friends on the Association get so mad at the City, because of certain things they want to change, but the City don't even realize that if people are asking for it it's a need. Sure it's a different sort of need than people might have in a Québécois neighbourhood. But it's still important."
> (Haitian female, no. 8)

Fourteen respondents said that planning proposals that have been accepted in the end by municipal authorities are those that conform to what these actors believe are host society needs and values (renewing park equipment and grounds, a skating rink, a community garden, street and building revitalization).

Paradoxically, local actors who are more flexible and accepting of culturally different practices are sometimes criticized in the next breath for not maintaining higher standards of environmental quality and safety, since flexibility is often simply seen as a form of 'not caring'.

In short, residents feel that the receptiveness and sensitivity of "outside" actors to cultural diversity depends on their ability to function within a multiethnic context and their openness to other races and cultures. Actors who are willing to take the time to understand local dynamics (concerns of residents, particularities of the neighbourhood) are those whom residents consider to be the most receptive, since these actors are said to be willing to adapt their approach to suit the particularities of the neighbourhood.

6.4.2 Local Knowledge and the Success of Planning Endeavours

Attention to local dynamics and local knowledge is a feature mentioned by the majority of authors calling for a more inclusive planning practice (Sandercock, 2000, 2003a; Thompson, 2003; Greed, 1999, among others). In fact, this is a key point of departure for most community development-type actions in North America and abroad (Friedmann, 1992a). The emphasis that all residents in this study place on local knowledge fits in well with this tradition.

Although many residents feel that public authorities either ignore or overlook public space concerns in Mountain Sights, 24 out of 26 believe that municipal services and planning interventions could be greatly improved if municipal authorities acted in collaboration with local residents. This could involve using documents and information prepared by the Residents' Association or workers at the Community Centre, or taking the time to come to the neighbourhood and discuss matters with residents and local actors.

> "We know that it's not so easy working in this neighbourhood, people are suspicious of outside people. You need to develop projects in a different way, take the time to speak with the people here and make sure they're on board. The City doesn't do like this, but if they asked us, they'd find out."
> (Filipino female, no. 17)

If community group workers and public authorities did try to act more collaboratively, respondents feel that these actors would soon realize that:

1. The volume of people living in such a space-restricted neighbourhood warrants additional services (such as an increased frequency of garbage pickup and street cleaning, immediate reduction in through-traffic, more weekly visits by park maintenance crews, and greater recreational opportunities).
2. Top-down environmental improvement projects can fail in a multiethnic neighbourhood like Mountain Sights if these projects do not take local dynamics and priorities into account.
3. Public space concerns in Mountain Sights are similar to public space concerns in other Montreal neighbourhoods in terms of basic service provision and environmental standards, but are substantially different in other respects.

Residents participating in this study all feel that local people have a better understanding of the neighbourhood's problems, and possible solutions to these problems, than public authorities do. Therefore, they believe that top-down programs or projects that affect local living conditions and public spaces should definitely be created in partnership with local residents.

> "Local people know the strengths and weaknesses. We know who you can grab and who you can't grab, what you can do with these people around here. [...] But they [public authorities] have the technical expertise. So that's where the partnership comes in." (Canadian-born male, no. 9)

This is not as simple as it sounds, for almost three-quarters feel that the way the City does things and the way 'local people' do things are incompatible. The only solution is to create neutral spaces where everyone can work together and voice their opinion, if they so desire.

> "They need to sit down with people here and find out exactly what it is that they want and need. Cause everybody has different opinions of what they want. And not have these people come to our meetings with really big expectations. It's not like that. You have to start off with little steps, and then little by little, everything gets fixed." (Canadian-born female, no. 11)

This does not mean that every top-down project requires the collaboration of local residents. None of our residents thought that this was a good idea, mainly because it would be too time-consuming. It simply means that the only people who know if a project or action has a hope of succeeding are local residents and actors who fully understand local concerns and dynamics.

6.4.3 Roles and Responsibilities

According to all respondents, both residents and authorities have certain roles and responsibilities to play in the local planning process. In general, public authorities are considered to be responsible for providing timely and appropriate services (garbage collection, park maintenance, street cleaning and maintenance, public safety and security, provision of infrastructure). They are also responsible for protecting the right of residents to live in a safe and healthy environment through inspections, policing, and legal action. However, two thirds (17) feel that municipal authorities are not assuming these responsibilities. They may do so in other areas of the city, but definitely not in theirs. Residents are therefore forced to pick up the slack.

> "Here, it's the City's responsibility to keep Mountain Sights clean and to fix the problems. The City doesn't pay much attention to Mountain Sights, but I don't understand why they don't do it, and why they don't care about it. So people have to form a little group because they only care." (Bengali female, no. 25)

On the other hand, one third does not agree, feeling that municipal authorities are doing the best they can given the fact that the City does not have enough money or personnel to carry out its duties properly.

Everyone agrees that residents are supposed to help keep the environment in tip-top condition between municipal "service calls". If certain residents do not, then the City is responsible for taking action on residents' complaints, either by punitive measures or by providing residents' groups with sufficient resources and power to address these matters themselves.

6.4.4 Representativity

Almost all respondents (23) believe that residents' groups are currently the only channel through which the diverse needs and wants of a multiethnic neighbourhood are transmitted to public authorities given the perceived unresponsiveness of many authorities to the needs of a minority or immigrant neighbourhood. Despite this, these respondents all admit that residents' groups are not necessarily representative of the local population. Involved residents are well aware that they only manage to reach a certain segment of the population. In their own planning work, there are only so many dossiers they can take action on at one time, which means that things that might be important to other people are put on the back-burner. While they believe that they are representing the best interest of everyone on the street, they say that they are not representing the full spectrum of interests.

> "There are a lot of people here in the neighbourhood who I don't know at all, so I can't speak for everyone. Maybe some are content with the level of cleanliness in their houses and on the street, while others don't agree. If we have a *comité solide solide* it will represent people much better. What we really need is to have one or two representatives from each building, and we need to get the participation of the janitors again, cause it's they who are *sur place* and who see everything that goes on. But it's not easy getting people to participate." (Haitian female, no. 19)

Dissemination of information is a problem for one group of respondents (12), who feel that members of both the first and second Residents' Associations do not advertise their meetings properly.

> "Not everyone who wants to be on the committee can attend, and not everyone knows about them. So they aren't all that representative of people on the street. They don't know what everyone needs. They know what their own needs are, but don't do any door-to-door to find out what others' needs are."
> (Haitian female, no. 21)

In addition, they are often accused of not making sufficient effort to ensure that everyone on the street gets the information they might need. For example, some respondents dislike the fact that when the Residents' Association receives flyers from the City outlining certain programs or rules, instead of photocopying them and mailing them to every household, they will tack one of

these French-language flyers up in the lobby of each building, buried among all the other flyers which nobody reads.

Democracy is another stumbling block. Most involved residents feel that the residents' groups in Mountain Sights are rather undemocratic. Meetings of the first Residents' Association were held behind closed doors and decisions affecting all residents were presented to the public as a *fait accompli*. And while the structure of the second Residents' Association may be more open, the dominance of South Asians in the group leads some respondents of very different ethnic origins to question the extent to which their opinions hold any weight during group meetings.

Transparency is also an issue that affects representativity. Several complained that unless one is involved in group activities, or know someone who is, there is no way of knowing what is happening or what the group is working on.

> "They should be explaining to every resident what they are doing. They should call us, to explain what they are doing, or to tell us to come and join them, or to discuss your problems with them. Now they changed the president for the garden, I don't even know who he is. So I don't know how to see him and I don't even know where is my application now." (Bengali female, no. 26)

Although many respondents feel that participation levels, dissemination of information, democracy, and transparency prevent local residents' groups in Mountain Sights from being fully representative of local concerns, respondents consider them to be *representative enough* to at least help achieve common environmental goals and to serve as a contact point with municipal authorities.

6.4.5 Dealing with Multiethnic Realities

The extent to which residents believe that public authorities should be more receptive to ethnocultural difference is conditioned by the degree to which they believe that these authorities should be accepting or tolerating things in multiethnic areas that they would not accept or tolerate in other parts of the city. The findings in this section are significant because they appear to contradict a notion that predominates throughout the critical planning literature. This notion holds that immigrants and members of minority groups often have needs or concerns that are different or contrary to those held by members of the host society, which planners and municipal

managers must take into account as much as possible (Thomas, 2000; Qadeer, 1997; Greed, 1999; Sandercock, 2003c). This should not to be confused with the respect that should be granted to individual differences during interpersonal interactions, which all respondents believe is highly important. This set of findings relates more to the creation of "us versus them" images, where individuals belonging to certain immigrant or minority groups are perceived as being less integrated or less environmentally aware than those affiliated with the host society.

a) Accommodating difference

Residents fall into three main groups irrespective of their involvement levels, gender, or ethnocultural backgrounds when it comes to the degree to which they believe that culturally-based needs and concerns should be accommodated in the municipal planning process.

The first group is composed of six long-term immigrants from the West Indies, Haiti, and Sri Lanka. They feel that everyone wants and appreciates the same things in their environment regardless of their ethnic origins (cleanliness, safety, healthy conditions), and so it makes more sense to concentrate on what people have in common instead of focusing on what differentiates them. For them, cultural differences should not be prioritized.

> "We have to operate on Canadian values, otherwise nothing makes sense."
> (West Indian female, no. 2)

The second group is composed of twelve respondents of no particular ethnicity or period of immigration, and includes our Canadian-born respondents. This group feels that certain cultural differences are fundamentally important to some groups, because these elements affect their livelihood or the quality of their existence (religious beliefs or practices, separation of the sexes in public space, certain economic endeavours). Only these types of differences should be given equal consideration in the planning process.

The third group of eight respondents feels that culturally-based concerns are more important to new arrivals than to more established immigrants. New arrivals are considered to follow two trajectories. In the first scenario, immigrants cling to spatial practices that are common in their home countries and try to impose them on their new environment in order to mitigate their homesickness. In the second one, immigrants integrate, retaining non-negotiable features of their

home culture while adopting the larger public space values of the host society. The existence of these two trajectories means that public authorities should treat these two cases differently. In the first case, certain practices are very important to new immigrant communities and should be accommodated in a way that does not infringe on the ability of others to enjoy the same space. In the second case, it is not necessary to consider these differences unless an ethnic group puts considerable pressure on the City in order to obtain a symbolic marker in public space (a monument, sports equipment or activity), since this will demonstrate its importance to that particular group.

In short, none of our respondents believe that cultural differences should be given equal consideration and treatment across the board. However, certain things are fundamental to an ethnocultural group's existence, and these are the things that should be granted consideration. This does not mean that these things should always be accommodated under all circumstances, only put forward for consideration and judged on their own merit.

b) Tolerating 'irregular' uses in public space

If residents are divided on whether or not public authorities even need to consider ethnocultural differences at all, this leads us to question how tolerant they feel authorities should be regarding uses and practices in a multiethnic neighbourhood that are different from those taking place in host society neighbourhoods. The same ambivalence to difference described in the previous section is also found here.

Two groups emerged regarding tolerance for 'irregular' uses (uses that are considered to be outside the norm). The first group does not believe that irregular uses or practices should be tolerated, while the second believes that they should be tolerated. Most residents (20) fall into the first group. South Asians in this group believe that public space standards in Montreal are superior to those in their home countries, and want these standards to be enforced in their neighbourhood. They feel that the City tolerates irregular uses in minority neighbourhoods because public authorities are under the false impression that residents are all poor immigrants who cannot afford to pay a fine.

> "They need to be more strict. You have to keep control over people and over yourself. I think every landlord on the street needs to tell their tenants what they should be doing, and if they aren't, then get [the City] to give them a ticket. They can all afford it. Even the people on welfare, they are working another job. If they have to pay, they will get scared and will do better." (Bengali female, no. 20)

> "I think the City authorities and the police are too tolerant here. Once you arrive here, you arrive, and you can't operate according to the rules of your old country, because you are here now. Poverty has nothing to do with education. I've known very poor people who are educated and well-behaved. So it's really a question of personal values, as opposed to cultural values." (Mexican female, no. 23)

However, respondents in this group also wish that the City did not go entirely by the book when it comes to things that would improve residents' quality of life. In other words, public authorities are too tolerant of things they should not be tolerating (poor environmental quality and illegal or 'improper' practices) and too quick to deny things they should be tolerating (usually economic endeavours such as home businesses or small scale commercial activities such as ethnic food businesses in residentially zoned areas).

The second group of six residents (this group comprises all Canadian-born respondents and several long-term Haitian and West Indian immigrants) feels that public authorities need to be even more tolerant in multiethnic neighbourhoods. These respondents believe that a lot of immigrants already have too much on their plates, and therefore it is better to overlook many things and let people gradually get established. The key to improving conditions in the neighbourhood is lots and lots of popular education, not 'punishment'.

> "We need the Ville de Montréal to be more supple. Authorities need to have more empathy for people here. People here aren't accustomed yet to how things are, so the City needs to pay even more attention to immigrant areas because people there really need their support. And all the immigrant areas have people from all sorts of races, so it's harder for them to find a network of people from their own country to support them and guide them. So they need to get that support from somewhere else." (Haitian female, no. 19)

The researcher was rather surprised at the extent to which residents wanted public authorities to crack down on uses and practices that they deemed irregular or improper. But when we look back at the importance they grant to improving environmental quality and to "bringing their

neighbourhood up to snuff" with more well-to-do areas, this attitude makes sense. On the other hand, it is important to note that Canadian-born residents and very long-term immigrants have completely different ideas about what new immigrants would like to see tolerated or enforced in public space than these more recent immigrants do.

6.4.6 The Feasibility of "Doing" Planning in Multiethnic Neighbourhoods

None of the residents interviewed for this study believe that the municipal planning process is inclusive of diversity or appropriate given the lived reality of multiethnic areas. When public authorities should be receptive of difference, they often seek to impose 'sameness'. When they should be intolerant of uses that infringe on the quality or condition of public spaces, they are often overly tolerant. When they should be paying particular attention to local dynamics and concerns, they ignore them. More than three-quarters of this respondent sample believe that the overall municipal planning and management system includes rules and regulations that should be applied in their neighbourhood, although the existence of these rules should not prevent public authorities from adopting a more sensitive or flexible approach when appropriate.

a) Outlining a more inclusive planning process

At the end of their interview, residents were asked whether or not they felt that it was possible to do planning in a way that takes many different culturally-based uses and concerns into account. All said yes. When asked how planning should be done in multiethnic contexts, most said that it should include some way of resolving differences or creating consensus (one had no idea). This does not mean that everyone's opinion or desire has to be given the same weight, only that everyone has to be able to present their opinion, and must be able to get enough of what they really want in order to be willing to give other things up. For one woman, the process is akin to sewing fabric together.

> "I say we have like a needle, and what we do is we take a little piece of everybody. If you notice, everybody you talk to will have some sort of the same basis. You'll find some similarities. You grab that similarity from everybody and just string it along. And eventually, it all comes together. [...] In all these groups, I find that people manage to work it out by themselves. They've all got their spin-off, but you can see it all come together like a nice big puzzle."
> (Canadian-born female, no. 11)

Negotiation must take place in order to determine what is most important or possible, and to decide what people can live without. This sounds very much like Davidoff's (1965) idea of plural group interests, with a little bit of cross-cultural communication thrown in for good measure.

> "It's not hard to do. The City of Montreal, or whoever, gotta stop going "we took a politician vote and out of every five hundred people, ten people say this." No. Go into the community and say, "Hi, I know you're from this culture, and what would you like to see if we were going to do this or this?" And then you take a list of that, and you say, okay, in that culture, this is what they like. In this religion, this is what they can do. But this and this and this goes together. Remember, in a community, what does it break down to, six or seven different cultures? There will be stuff you can include and there will be stuff you can't include. But if everyone feels included, everybody's happy." (Canadian-born male, no. 9)

However, the amount of energy that must be devoted in order to make this type of approach work is a potential drawback. Many said that while the community organizations they work with are able to operate under this type of approach, most municipal authorities cannot. Either they are not used to working like this, or else they simply do not have the time to devote to it. However, some respondents pointed out that if local residents' groups were given the funding and technical support needed to find solutions to certain environmental problems in their neighbourhood, then authorities could use these findings to ensure that the particular concerns of minority or multiethnic neighbourhoods are properly addressed.

b) Transferability to other contexts

The transferability of these ways of doing planning to other situations such as activity scheduling at recreational centres, conflicts over religion, or the problems faced by schools in multiethnic areas was stressed by a small group of seven residents. On the other hand, a larger group (19) said that the 'Mountain Sights approach' is not all that useful in more well-to-do areas because the need for a community development or empowerment approach does not really exist in these contexts. Municipal authorities in these areas are said to pay more attention to the welfare of their residents (home owners who have 'bigger voices' because they pay higher taxes). Instead, the 'Mountain Sights approach' is believed to be better suited to minority neighbourhoods or to any context where people feel that municipal authorities do not listen to their concerns.

Université de Montréal

PLANNING FOR PUBLIC SPACES IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS: A CASE STUDY OF MOUNTAIN SIGHTS, MONTREAL

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CHAPTER 7: THE PERSPECTIVE OF COMMUNITY GROUP WORKERS AND PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

This chapter will present the findings of interviews with community group workers, municipal authorities, and public institutional actors whose daily work or territory of intervention includes the case study site of Mountain Sights. This chapter will follow the same format as the preceding one, and findings will be presented according to the same four main interview topics (personal details, perceptions of public space use and concerns, perceptions of the local planning process, and perceptions of municipal planning and management approaches in multiethnic contexts).

Interview findings for community group workers and public authorities will not be compared with interview findings for residents in this chapter, except in certain sections. Comparison and discussion of the findings for these two respondent categories will be performed only in Chapter 8. In quite a few instances, many community group workers and public authorities interviewed for this study have perceptions that are sometimes completely the opposite of what the majority of residents believe. For this reason, it makes more sense to compare and contrast these two respondent groups in the following chapter, and to present only the findings for community group workers and public authorities in this one.

7.1 RESPONDENT PROFILE

The 26 respondents in this particular sample work for 21 different municipal departments, public institutions, and community-based organizations in the Côte des Neiges or Montreal area. Please refer to Appendix 3 for non-identifying details. These respondents can be divided into three sub-categories according to their place of employment. One group of eight works for community-based organizations or ethnocultural associations located in Côte des Neiges. Three are based out of the Mountain Sights Community Centre while the rest are, or have been, involved with community development and planning efforts in the neighbourhood since at least the early 1990's.

A second group of twelve respondents works for the City of Montreal in positions ranging from departmental director to field officer. They all work for departments or divisions that are involved in planning and environmental improvement, sports and recreation, cultural diversity management, or communications. At the time of their interview, half worked out of centralized offices located in the downtown core or near City Hall in Old Montreal, while the other half worked out of regional offices located in Côte des Neiges or Notre Dame de Grâce.

The last group of six respondents is composed of public institutional actors who work for a wide range of public organizations: the community police force, the CLSC (a regional public health institution), a para-municipal housing agency. One is an elected representative. Four work out of offices or institutions based in or near Côte des Neiges, while two are based out of downtown offices.

In total, 15 respondents in this particular sample have been working in Côte des Neiges for at least ten to fifteen years, and 11 have been working in Côte des Neiges for five years or less. Respondents in this latter group are all in their twenties or thirties, while those who have been working in Côte des Neiges the longest are usually in their forties and fifties.

This sample is fairly well divided along gender lines (11 are women and 15 are men). The majority (20) are of French Canadian descent, while six are of English Canadian, Eastern European, Haitian, Jamaican, Algerian, and Vietnamese descent. Municipal and public institutional actors are mainly of French Canadian descent (with two exceptions), while four out of eight community group workers are immigrants or the children of immigrants.

7.2 THE PARTICULARITIES OF PUBLIC SPACE IN A MULTIETHNIC CONTEXT

Community group workers and public authorities interviewed for this study were asked to describe their perceptions regarding the way public spaces are used in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights and to discuss what they believe to be the main public space concerns or problems in the area. Since many had previously worked in other parts of Montreal, they were also asked to compare features of public space in Mountain Sights with those in Côte des Neiges North and in other Montreal neighbourhoods.

7.2.1 Uses and Visions of Public Space in a Multiethnic Context

Community group workers and public authorities participating in this study all have the same basic notion of what 'environment' and 'public space' mean. Echoing accepted definitions in academic circles, they had no difficulty whatsoever in discussing these abstract notions. Because they are "outsiders" who do not live in the neighbourhood and whose work is specifically designed to intervene in the socio-economic and physical environment, their perceptions of the neighbourhood as a whole are important because this determines their actions and reactions to local public space.

a) Visions of neighbourhood

Respondents can be divided into two groups when it comes to their overall impression of Mountain Sights. The first group comprises one third of all respondents (there is no correlation with place of employment for either group). These respondents believe that Mountain Sights is a residential island surrounded by industry and cut off from the rest of Côte des Neiges. They also feel that it is an immigrant reception zone that provides little opportunities for integration into the host society (a transit zone), as well as an ethnic enclave belonging to established immigrant groups (the "Patels", West Indians, and Haitians) who are suspicious of outsiders and "who haven't been able to make enough money to buy a house somewhere else" (municipal employee, no. 28). These respondents are convinced that residents have little attachment to the neighbourhood. Therefore, they are reluctant to call it a "neighbourhood", because they think that the indicators of neighbourhood are missing.

> "Where's the school? The family home? It's just apartment buildings. This is a transition zone, the materials needed to make a more stable life are not here. In my opinion, there's no future there. That's why people don't invest there." (community group worker, no. 44)

Instead, they call it a zone, sector, or residential area. In addition, they believe that public spaces in Mountain Sights are in much worse condition than those in other parts of Côte des Neiges, due once more to its isolation and the fragility of its social fabric.

> "On a scale of 0 to 10, Parc de la Savane rates a 0. People don't know any better around here, and they're content with what they have. I never think when I pass by the park at night, oh the park is pretty, let's go in. It's miserable." (public institutional employee, no. 49)

The second group, comprising two thirds of respondents, feels exactly the opposite. For these respondents, Mountain Sights is a distinct neighbourhood that is very well connected to the rest of Montreal, in terms of transportation and in the minds of residents. While it is definitely an immigrant reception area, it is also a settlement neighbourhood because they find that many residents are very attached to it. These respondents are well aware that other actors do not necessarily share their opinion, since it is one that they have developed over time and through familiarity with the context.

> "These residents will all say, I don't want to move from here, I feel good here. Which is very surprising for me, because everyone else describes Mountain Sights as being very isolated. But over time, I decided it made more sense to trust the perceptions of residents. I don't report that it's an isolated neighbourhood anymore to our funding agencies, because it's not like that to people who live here." (community group worker, no. 42)

In addition, they also feel that public spaces in Mountain Sights are in better condition than those in the rest of Côte des Neiges or in lower income areas of Montreal, although they feel that local spaces are inferior to public spaces in wealthier areas.

b) Use of public space in a multiethnic context

One of the more interesting aspects of our interviews with community group workers and public authorities is the clear division that emerged regarding the degree to which respondents feel that environmental features and public space uses are what we might call 'ethno-specific' (common only to certain ethnocultural groups) or 'culturally neutral' (common to neighbourhoods and groups across Montreal). In general, the majority attribute many features of local public space use to the "customs and habits of immigrants", while a minority (usually around one quarter to one third of the sample) believe that these features have nothing at all to do with immigrants or their culture.

Respondents all had quite a bit of difficulty commenting on the uses made of public space in Mountain Sights. However, some uses really seemed to stick in the minds of many respondents (20) due to their exoticism. These 'exotic' uses range from cultural preferences in sport (cricket over baseball) to the distance kept between individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups. 'Exotic' uses also involve the transposition of what most call "Third World" cultures to a Montreal neighbourhood.

> "Mountain Sights is like the movie "Salaam Bombay", especially in the beginning. The clothes drying on lines stretching across the street, the garbage bags everywhere, people screaming at each other from opposite sides of the street, it's a very exotic street." (public institutional employee, no. 46)

It is important to note that the term "Third World" (or *tiers monde*, in French) is one that was used by almost three-quarters of respondents in this sample to describe the various uses or practices they encountered in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights. These respondents said that the different ethnic cultures in Mountain Sights have so many things in common that it makes more sense to group them all together into a commonly-shared "Third World" culture. The distinction between Haitian and Sri Lankan evaporates here, leaving behind a generalized culture that is more conservative and more family-oriented than "Québécois" or "North American" culture. This "Third World" culture is characterized by larger and more extended families, greater emphasis on community and religion, greater inequalities between men and women, a higher value placed on public sociability, and by what many call 'rural' domestic practices.

> "Residents who live there are all people from Third World countries, and they all have a common way of functioning. These are people who are outside a lot, who have the tendency to gather together, especially around people of their own community." (community group worker, no. 52)

On the other hand, one quarter of respondents (in all sectors) does not believe that these different cultures can or should be reduced to a common "Third World" culture.

Spatial separation

The first notable aspect of public space use that emerged from interviews has to do with the spatial separation kept between individuals belonging to different groups. Eighteen feel that this is due to the replication of social dynamics common in residents' home countries or to the desire to remain within the ethnic group. These respondents strongly believe that this dynamic prevents individuals from meeting others outside of their own ethnocultural group or from learning more about Québécois culture. On the other hand, the remaining eight respondents believe that this type of spatial separation in public space is normal.

Respondents commented variously on how spatial separation in the park plays out in practice. For example, many pointed out that while inter-ethnic group mixing is common in certain spaces (playground, community garden), it is more common to find Sri Lankans in one area and Haitians in another. Some said that the basketball court is the preserve of 'Black' youths (most respondents lumped West Indians, Haitians, and Black Canadians into this single category) while the baseball diamonds are often converted into a cricket field, with garbage cans for wickets. Almost half noted that women and men of South Asian descent tend to sit in separate groups, and some remarked that South Asian women tend to arrange themselves so that they are closed off from other park users (in terms of seating arrangements or choice of location).

Five respondents (all community group workers or local field officers) note that certain age groups or ethnocultural groups appear to be absent from the park, even though they know that individuals from these groups definitely live in the neighbourhood. For example, they remark that East Asians and the elderly tend to be absent from the park (except in the case of several

elderly men whom they have seen with their grandchildren in the playground area). However, they could offer no explanation for the absence of individuals from these groups in the park.

Respondents do not agree on whether or not preferred locations in the park are due to cultural preferences in sociability and infrastructure. Over half said that cultural preferences determine choice of location. For example, they all feel that the southern section of the park is very heavily used by South Asians who feel more comfortable in densely populated and enclosed spaces than in the more empty open spaces in the northern section of the park. The other half argue that this type of use pattern is found in many other parks across Montreal, where tightly programmed or highly equipped areas are used the most, and wide open spaces and unprogrammed areas tend to remain empty.

> "We see the same thing in other parks. People like going to the playground areas, it's like in Lafontaine Park, you see people all in that one spot. Same in Angrignon where the little zoo was. [...] I think that we all do this because personally we feel safer in the presence of a lot of other people."
> (municipal employee, no. 37)

A division therefore emerges between those who attribute characteristics of public space use in Mountain Sights to culturally-specific factors and those who feel that these characteristics are common to public spaces across Montreal.

Transposition of cultures

The transposition of ways of doing from immigrants' home countries to their new environment in Mountain Sights is a notable feature of public space use for three-quarters of respondents. In their opinion, this can stem from the transposition of non-negotiable aspects of identity to public space, from immigrants' domestic practices, or from what these respondents consider to be rural or backward environmental habits.

i) non-negotiable cultural practices

One group of respondents considers that non-negotiable cultural practices are an important part of residents' cultural identities and value systems. Non-negotiable practices can include religious uses, such as Hindu altars in apartments, prayer groups (Muslim, Haitian Pentecostal, and Hindu prayer groups were mentioned), or ritual bathing in the park's wading pool. They can also

include child-rearing practices and the treatment of animals. Over half of respondents (mostly community group workers and those working in the housing sector) said that child-rearing in South Asian cultures is usually collective. They find that very young children are often left alone in the park completely unsupervised, since their parents trust that other adults will look after them. In addition, these respondents find that adult discipline of unrelated children is high in the park, or at least much higher than one would find in parks in a more "Québécois" neighbourhood.

In terms of the treatment of animals, 12 respondents brought up examples that refer to South Asian residents. These examples include what they consider to be the almost religious feeding of wild animals, to the extent that some residents leave their balcony doors open in all seasons so that wild animals can take shelter or eat in their apartments. Other examples involve what they feel is an innate cultural desire not to harm any living creature, which leads some South Asian residents to prevent exterminators from treating their apartments. On the other hand, five respondents believe that "these immigrants here are all afraid of dogs" (respondent no. 37), and so any dogs in the park must be accompanying people who do not live in Mountain Sights. Curiously, these same actors also mentioned that they are personally afraid of dogs. This perception is important because several of these respondents work for municipal departments that are responsible for dog-runs and dog-related issues in Montreal parks and other public spaces.

ii) domestic practices

Many respondents said that residents of Mountain Sights come from countries where life is lived outdoors to a much greater extent than it is in Montreal, and they find that residents spend much more time outdoors than residents do in host society neighbourhoods. Nineteen remarked that residents of Mountain Sights (none of them make a distinction between different ethnocultural groups here) use building lawns, alleys, and the park as true living spaces, as "gathering spaces".

> "The public spaces in Mountain Sights are really used as *espaces de rassemblement*. I guess it's because people living in the less developed and warmer countries have a more communal mentality. So they enjoy being in each other's company." (municipal employee, no. 43)

Half note that the east-side alley and the park are turned into "courtyards" or backyards. Residents bring their patio furniture down to the alleys or the park, and hold birthday parties and other celebrations there, essentially re-creating the backyards they do not have (again, no particular ethnocultural group is singled out).

iii) rural or backward environmental habits

A large group of respondents (20) are very concerned about what they consider to be the more backward aspect of this cultural transposition. It is important to note that respondents who are themselves of immigrant origin also share this opinion. These respondents feel that this type of use reflects the poor environmental practices that they believe are the norm in what they call "Third World" countries. Examples include people who throw garbage off balconies, who dump household waste or unwanted items in the park in the middle of the night, or who leave half-butchered animal carcasses in the alleys.

> "In some areas of India, mice are sacred, and rats. So when we put down the product to exterminate mice, they remove it after we leave because they're protecting the mice in the building. [...] We often find carcasses in the alleys. Pigs' heads, chicken feet. I think they raise them and slaughter them at home. There are kitchens that look like an *abattoir*. Some have been raised in the country and have kept all their country habits."
> (community group worker, no. 44)

> "People living there have certain environmental practices, maybe it's due to their level of integration. The more they retain the practices of their country of origin, the more difficult it becomes for us. In Mountain Sights we've had some pretty extreme cases. People were throwing their garbage out their windows, we've seen that sort of thing. You can see this sort of thing in certain other disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but not to the same degree at all." (municipal employee, no. 35)

Examples also includes so-called "rural" domestic practices such as washing floors and balconies by throwing bucketfuls of water on them, drying clothes on long clothes-lines strung between balconies or attached to park fences, or the "Hindu" habit of taking splash baths outside the bathtub.

> "There was a lot of uncleanliness from people's habits, like people who spit anywhere without thinking that someone else has to clean it up. These are mostly cultural habits. It could be kids peeing in the hallway or people littering. Inside the apartments, people would write on the walls. There was also a problem with uncleanliness or poor upkeep in apartments, which was mostly a question of cultural habits." (community group worker, no. 41)

However, six respondents disagree with this assessment, feeling that these same 'problem' uses are also found in lower income neighbourhoods in general.

> "Well, we have clothes-lines everywhere, clothes put out to dry everywhere here, even in the park, but we also see this in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve. People there don't have backyards, so it's just that these things are more visible in these neighbourhoods than they are in places like TMR [Town of Mount Royal]." (public institutional employee, no. 50)

In summary, then, the majority of respondents feel that the uses made of public space in Mountain Sights are often different from those occurring in host society neighbourhoods, and result from the transposition of immigrants' home cultures to their new environment. On the other hand, a smaller group (6) believes that these 'different' uses are not culturally-based at all because they are also found in other lower income areas across Montreal. It is not clear from our interviews why some respondents are so willing to attribute public space characteristics in Mountain Sights to immigrants' cultures of origin while others are not. Many of the respondents in the 'culturally neutral' group are those who later on appear to be the most receptive and open to cultural differences in their planning or management work, while those in the former group often (but not always) tend to be less receptive. It is almost as though those who emphasize cultural differences in this section tend to have attitudes that are more patronizing towards immigrants, if one examines their entire interview content. We have little to compare these findings to here, because studies on municipal practice and cultural diversity tend to show that lack of awareness or understanding of cultural difference leads planners to ignore it during their planning work (Thomas, 2000; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002), which is not necessarily the case here.

7.2.2 Sharing Space: the Intersection of Different Uses and Visions

Respondents all note that while the intersection of different uses and visions of public space in Mountain Sights is generally very harmonious, this intersection can create certain problems in terms of personal perceptions, public safety, and the way that space is appropriated.

a) Coexistence in public space is usually very peaceful

Blanc's (1995) study on public sociability in Côte des Neiges North notes that overall, space is shared very peacefully between individuals of different ethnocultural origins, aided in part by a spatial distancing between those belonging to different ethnocultural groups. This feature also emerged during interviews with respondents working in the non-profit and public service sectors. Although several said that they did not know enough about how space was used to comment, most respondents report that "everyone gets along because they all understand each other" (community group worker, no. 52). Quite a few said that there is comparatively little conflict between individuals of different ethnocultural origins in Mountain Sights compared to neighbourhoods dominated by two or three ethnocultural groups, where the struggle for dominance in space is greater.

> "In Mountain Sights I've never really seen any inter-ethnic fights. There seems to be an unstated respect there between groups, that says "I won't bother you if you don't bother me". The only time it boils over is when people's boundaries of what they can tolerate are really overcome. The problems are worse in more homogeneous areas, because although we Francophones are very welcoming, we're also fairly intolerant about others' values and habits."
> (public institutional employee, no. 46)

In fact, many said that in their experience, conflict between individuals of different ethnocultural backgrounds decreases in proportion to the degree of multiethnicity in a neighbourhood. This is similar to Albrow's (1997) findings on multiethnic neighbourhoods in London.

> "People there are used to living together. It's not more conflictual because there are more communities, it's less so because people are aware that there are many ethnic groups living there. And people who live there have accepted that."
> (municipal employee, no. 40)

b) The intersection of different cultures can create certain problems

Notwithstanding this overall peaceful coexistence, the intersection of many different cultures in a limited number of public spaces can pose certain problems, according to 18 respondents (the others said that they were not familiar enough with the context to offer a detailed opinion). This can include residents' reactions to the domestic practices of others, different visions of public space, and the collision of cultures.

In terms of domestic practices, these respondents said that they found that residents belonging to the more established immigrant groups find it difficult to accept the practices of newer arrivals. It bears note that many of these respondents have strong personal feelings regarding these practices, and it is sometimes hard to tell whether they are talking about their own reactions or those of other residents. Examples that were brought up include the negative reaction of some West Indian residents to practices such as littering, spitting, poor garbage disposal, or the failure of 'new immigrants' to control their children. This negative reaction usually involves making snide comments or shouting at offenders. Several local community group workers also noted that sometimes fights have broken out over cars parked across the entrance to building garages or facing the wrong direction (in many other countries of the world, cars are sometimes parked in all directions on a street – on sidewalks, in the wrong direction, perpendicular to the street, etc.).

In terms of differing visions of public space, five respondents said that it seems as though individuals belonging to certain ethnocultural groups sometimes operate on the assumption that everyone else shares their way of doing things, refusing to acknowledge that other people might be bothered by their activities.

> "We used to get a few complaints because after the game was finished, they'd sit around drinking, breaking bottles and swearing until early in the morning. It's not a Filipino or Tamil practice to irritate people, but some people don't respect others. They're focused on their thing and their need, and in these cases it happens to be a question of ethnic or cultural identity that's being respected or pursued." (municipal employee, no. 32)

This is also true for religious visions of space. One quarter said that some prayer groups could be very disruptive (the rest had no idea that these types of prayer groups existed in the neighbourhood). For example, Hindu prayer groups chanting in the early morning were said to sometimes provoke other residents to yell at group members. On the other hand, these respondents said that Evangelical Christian prayer groups and the local *mussallah* do not seem to be bothering anyone.

The collision of cultures was a feature brought up by just over two thirds, who say that these are "essentially conflicts between very different ways of living" (municipal employee, no. 40). These respondents attribute problems of this nature to integration. If some residents use public space as though they were still living in their home countries and if this causes a problem for others, it is because they lack knowledge of how "things are done in Quebec". These respondents believe that this type of problem would not occur if these immigrants were living in a French Canadian neighbourhood.

> "People come here and they don't know anyone. People have no hold on their milieu, so they watch what others are doing and think that everybody does this. In a different area, people will take the time to tell their neighbours they can't do that. But when you're all moving through, the pressure to conform to certain standards isn't there." (municipal employee, no. 39)

The teaching value of public space is the crux of the matter here. This group of respondents believes that public spaces in host society neighbourhoods teach new arrivals how to act as 'Canadians', whereas public spaces in immigrant or multiethnic neighbourhoods reinforce practices that can create tension between residents and the City employees in charge of "managing" these spaces.

c) Factors affecting public safety in a multiethnic context

The way that culturally different uses and visions of public space can affect the safety of local public spaces was a concern for almost all respondents. Four factors emerged here: the overall social climate, criminal activities, attitudes towards law enforcement, and environmental safety.

Overall social climate

Many respondents (17) feel that the physical environment in Mountain Sights appears very degraded as a result of neglect and the plethora of 'non-integrated' uses taking place, and that this degradation encourages anti-social behaviour, which in turn discourages residents' attachment to their neighbourhood. Many of these particular respondents (all French Canadian) often feel somewhat unsafe in public spaces in Mountain Sights, which probably contributes to this perception. None of the nine women in this group will walk through the park at night, and several said that they have had scary incidents with men or male teenagers on the street. However, they feel much safer in Mountain Sights at night than they do in other lower income or immigrant neighbourhoods.

> "In Mountain Sights, I've never felt violence like I did in Walkley or Ste. Évariste. I've never been afraid walking on Mountain Sights Avenue at night. But I've been very afraid on Walkley and Ste. Évariste, especially at night."
> (public institutional employee, no. 46)

These findings correspond with those of Baba and Austin (1989) on the sense of safety and attachment in lower income areas, which suggests that ethnicity may play a lesser role here than the idea of the disadvantaged neighbourhood. On the other hand, around one third of respondents (9) do not agree with this assessment, reporting that they personally always feel very safe in the neighbourhood. They believe that since "everyone knows everyone else", this creates a positive social dynamic that spills over to the general environment, even if other problems persist. The effect of respondents' personal experiences in public spaces in Mountain Sights therefore has a lot to do with how safe they feel these spaces are.

Among most respondents, the level of sensitivity towards women's safety issues is very high. Over half (all men) remarked that they believe that South Asian women likely feel somewhat unsafe in public space at all times, due to their cultural upbringing.

> "The public domain is just that, and must be made safe. But if you're a veiled woman and others are staring at you, think you're going to go to the park? You'll feel it's unsafe there for you. So you'll stay in your apartment and that doesn't help you meet other people. A lot of women on the street feel like that." (municipal employee, no. 28)

Female respondents are more likely than men to gloss over culturally-specific social dynamics in public space, even though almost half of female respondents report feeling a generalized sense of fear in public spaces around Mountain Sights. These women are convinced that the only way to enhance women's feeling of safety on the street is to increase visibility and reduce enclosure. While this response correlates with the general recommendations on women's safety issues put forward by Wekerle (2000) or by the City of Montreal's *Femmes et ville* program (Ville de Montréal, Programme Femmes et ville, 2003), it does not take into account the fact that environmental perceptions of safety (and of safety-enhancing features in the environment) are different for women belonging to certain ethnic or visible minority groups (Day, 1999a).

Criminal activities

Nineteen respondents link criminal activities in Mountain Sights with culturally-based habits. They believe that petty crime is a growing problem in the area because the culturally-based practices of many immigrants contribute to the problem. The general assessment is that petty crimes (break-and-enters, purse-snatchings, muggings) are being committed either by residents themselves or by people who know the "habits of immigrants". Practices such as leaving apartment doors unlocked or open for friends and family members and keeping large quantities of cash and jewellery in apartments are considered to encourage this type of activity.

Ethnic youth gangs are also considered to be a problem. For example, some said that gangs of Sri Lankan youths create a climate of fear in the park. In fact, 15 respondents believe that such gangs are responsible for much of the low-level vandalism affecting public spaces in the neighbourhood. However, none of our respondents were able to say for sure if these individuals were living in the neighbourhood or not.

Social workers, municipal field officers, and police officers in this sample also stressed private forms of conflict related to conjugal violence, substance abuse, inter-generational conflict, inter-family theft, and mentally ill residents. For example, some said that there is a fairly high proportion of mentally ill people living in family settings on the street because culturally many immigrants prefer to tend mentally ill family members at home. However, these individuals often go unmedicated and unsupervised, causing problems for other residents in public and semi-public spaces. None of these respondents mentioned if this has anything to do with the ability of immigrants or non-permanent residents to access state-subsidized mental health care in their new country or not. Issues such as inter-family theft (resulting from drug abuse or gambling debts) and conjugal violence (if it spills out into building common areas or the street) are considered to create a disruptive public climate for other residents. However, it should be kept in mind that these same types of problems have also been noted by many Intersectorial Neighbourhood Consultation Boards across Montreal (according to their annual reports submitted to the Social Development Division of the Sports and Recreation Department), and so they cannot necessarily be considered to be problems that are proper only to multiethnic or immigrant neighbourhoods.

"See but don't tell"

Attitudes towards law enforcement are problematic for some respondents, who report that many immigrants are suspicious, if not afraid, of the police since they come from parts of the world where such fear is justified. Twelve respondents also report that a culture of "see but don't tell" permeates immigrant communities such as Mountain Sights, mainly because victims or witnesses are reluctant to formally complain or to provide information for fear of retaliation.

> "We don't get a lot of calls from people in Mountain Sights. But I still feel that a lot of things go on there that aren't reported. They'll give us information, but they don't want to get involved. They'll call and say there's a problem in their apartment building, they think someone's dealing drugs, but they won't tell us which apartment or what the guy's name is. So it's hard to get useful information, people aren't very forthcoming." (public institutional employee, no. 49)

Environmental safety

Two thirds feel that the safety of public and semi-public space is compromised by the intersection between residents' irregular or culturally-derived habits and outside forces. For example, although 12 respondents blame excessive speeding and parking problems on traffic from the industrial park area (as do most residents), police officers interviewed for this study noted that radar traps and ticketing have proved that the majority of offenders are local residents or their families and friends. However, all these respondents pointed out that lack of parking spots and speeding (a common problem in many inner-city neighbourhoods) is compounded in Mountain Sights because immigrants living there are used to the "anyways goes" traffic atmosphere of their home countries.

The second example relates to building safety. Half of our respondent sample said that neglect by building owners is exacerbated by the irregular practices of immigrant residents. Examples include the risk of fire from lit candles in Hindu altars or tenants who store belongings in the stairwells and balconies that double as emergency exits.

d) Appropriation of space

Interviews show that most respondents believe that the intersection of different cultures in the neighbourhood affects the way that residents can control space, conditioning their preferences and their ability to appropriate public space as they might desire.

Control over space

A group of 11 respondents (community group workers and municipal employees) said that individuals or groups will try to appropriate certain spaces as "theirs", defending them against use by others. Sometimes this territorial behaviour is deliberate, such as when a group of cricketers orders other groups off that section of the park, but in other cases, individuals of certain cultures simply do not recognize the culturally-based boundary markers of others. In the case of Mountain Sights, these respondents are clear that territorial behaviour does not stem from the desire to protect cultural identity, as it often does in a more bi-cultural atmosphere (Bollens, 1996), but results instead from a lack of respect for others' space.

> "One thing that's a strong cultural marker in the area is the "respect for others' space". That's where a lot of conflicts come in. It's actually a pretty big deal. People react very strongly to the invasion of their space by others, who aren't doing it intentionally, but who are following their own codes of conduct." (community group worker, no. 41)

For example, almost half of all respondents have observed fewer and fewer West Indian residents actively using the park, and said that the numeric dominance of South Asians in the park and their different notions of space make West Indian residents feel 'pushed out'. On the other hand, one respondent noted that the park was comparatively underused in the 1980's and early 90's when West Indians were in the majority. She therefore believes that South Asians use public space much more than West Indians do, and so South Asians appear to be appropriating more and more public space by default.

> "The Blacks aren't really present in the park, nor are the East Asians. They tend to stay home. It's the South Asians who have really appropriated it. They have no intention of moving from there and have made it their home base. [...] So they see it as being their park, and have no problem occupying every square inch of it." (municipal employee, no. 43)

One quarter (all female respondents) also noted that women of all nationalities seem to have a hard job appropriating space for themselves, due to personal inhibitions as well as to the covert and overt domination of men over all public space except the community garden, the Community Centre, and the children's playgrounds.

Preferences and appropriation

Twenty five out of 26 respondents feel that residents of Mountain Sights basically want to see or do the same sort of things in public space as do "most people in the city". These basic preferences include: a clean and healthy environment (no garbage or litter, no cockroach and vermin infestations), a beautiful environment (well-maintained and nicely decorated), a green environment (availability of green spaces), a safe environment (controlled through-traffic, freedom from male harassment or anti-social behaviour), and a stimulating environment (recreational activities). They consider these to be what one respondent calls transcultural preferences and desires that everyone shares, regardless of culture.

> "I think probably most of the people who live in Montreal or come to Montreal share, no matter what background they come from, certain basic values: safety, children, a quiet secure life, not having people threaten you, a certain level of cleanliness. A lot of the needs we think are culturally determined are actually shared, they're transcultural values." (municipal employee, no. 32)

In addition, nine respondents do not believe that residents have any great desire to appropriate space according to the ways of doing in their home countries, because they either wanted to immigrate to a new and different country or because their cultural needs are expressed privately, not publicly.

> "I think they want to improve and develop the space here, but not like in their country. I feel like they just want to arrange it so they'll be comfortable, not to replicate what they're used to. Just to make it more convivial."
> (municipal employee, no. 43)

However, 17 do not agree. They feel that residents are trying to appropriate space according to a set of shared principles that make up what they call the common immigrant culture of Mountain Sights, even if this appropriation is counter to the uses that different spaces were programmed to receive. The most widely reported example of this type of appropriation is the replication of agrarian lifestyles in urban public spaces (subsistence farming, livestock raising, and the village well - or park wading pool, which these respondents say is used for many different things besides wading).

Over the course of their interview, a large number of respondents tended to blame environmental problems in Mountain Sights on residents' lack of attachment to, or appropriation of, public space. It is interesting then to find many of these same respondents reporting that residents of Mountain Sights have been quite successfully appropriating local public spaces according to their own ends.

7.2.3 The Impact of Multiethnicity on Local Public Spaces

According to the majority of respondents in this sample, socio-demographic change in Mountain Sights affects how public spaces are adapting to population increases, how they are accommodating the many different roles and functions being demanded of them, and how well suited they are to this new demographic reality.

a) The overuse or excessive use of space

Like residents in this study, the vast majority of respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors (25) feel that public spaces in Mountain Sights appear overused or excessively used, if not degraded, in part because more people from many different cultures are using these spaces in ways that they were not necessarily intended to accommodate.

> "One part of the degradation problem in Mountain Sights is negligence, the other's involuntary. [...] There are too many people for the existing space to accommodate. But if the buildings were built with proper facilities, a huge part of the problem wouldn't exist. So we have a structural problem that's at the root of this. The people who built these buildings did so according to the norms at the time, not thinking that there would be other types and numbers of inhabitants there." (community group worker, no. 52)

> "Certain problems in public space are tied in with the needs of cultural communities, because other countries have other customs. But it causes problems here because our spaces aren't designed to be used or perceived like this." (community group worker, no. 29)

In addition, 13 noted that space is at a premium in the neighbourhood, and so residents have no choice but to use what little space there is. Several (all in the housing sector or with the City) said that such overuse is fairly common in multiethnic or immigrant areas, since these tend to be lower income areas with densely built housing and little viable open space. They stress that overuse is not common in non-immigrant areas, mainly because members of the host society do not tend to use public space as living or domestic space.

The density of housing in Mountain Sights also contributes to the overuse and degradation of many local public spaces. Eight noted that buildings were constructed at a time when social projections showed a trend towards smaller families. On top of this, new immigrants often have larger families or else live many in one unit in order to save money.

> "What I've learned from my experience is that people here tend to live all crowded into one apartment. The capacity of the building to structurally withstand this means that at one point, there's a certain degradation in the built environment that occurs, not because they aren't good people, but because the building owner doesn't maintain the building and over-occupation then makes matters worse." (municipal employee, no. 40)

The park, especially the playground, receives a lot of pressure from children, who have no where else to play.

> "When you have groups of people that tend to occupy a lot of outdoor space, this is because there's no other alternative or activity for them. It has a negative effect on the environment, unintentionally. Kids playing is not a big problem. But it becomes a problem if there are five hundred families with children on a street with nowhere for the kids to play." (community group worker, no. 34)

In addition, half of all respondents in this sample noted that De La Savane Park is the only park in the area and must serve a whole range of different users. These include employees of the surrounding industries and businesses, a nearby church and daycare centre, and residents of the Kindersley - Braille neighbourhood located farther east of the park. In addition, the park must accommodate all local dog-owners, informal or amateur sports teams, families, and local events. However, these respondents believe that overuse is not due to the volume of different users but to the way the park is laid out. For them, the southern section of the park is overused simply because all the recreational and leisure equipment is located there, with the exception of the baseball diamonds.

The large volume of people living in a restricted physical area also translates into excessive garbage production, according to two thirds (the rest did not mention this during their interview). One respondent with the municipal Public Works Department noted that garbage production is higher on Mountain Sights Avenue than on most streets in Côte des Neiges and garbage contractors often have a problem collecting it all. Another respondent noted that many new

immigrants are not accustomed to the packaging that comes with food products and other goods, and have not yet developed mechanisms for compacting or sorting household waste.

> "In Third World countries, you take your cloth bag to the market and you buy everything fresh. Here, everything you buy has packaging. So they have a lot more garbage than they're used to, and you end up with a lot more garbage in an area that wasn't designed to receive so many people. Of course you have a garbage problem." (community group worker, no. 52)

In short, the first conclusion that respondents reach is that many local public spaces are suffering as a result of population increases and diversification of uses. However, there is no consensus among respondents on the extent to which diverse practices and uses might affect the quality and condition of public spaces in Mountain Sights any differently than they would in a host society neighbourhood with a similarly growing population. The only aspect that truly stands out has to do with the role of public space in a multiethnic neighbourhood, as the following section will demonstrate.

b) Ability to accommodate diversity

The ability of public spaces to accommodate a diversity of uses depends first of all on the role these spaces play. Critics of traditional design practice often argue that spaces become appropriated for uses they were not designed to accommodate because these uses were overlooked by planners relying on their own vision of public space (De Graft-Johnson, 1999: 117). As our findings show, this misappropriation is not due to a politicized re-taking of public space through deliberately subversive actions, as Holston (1998) suggests, but to the simple repetition of practices over time in a particular space.

The role and function of public space

Although the unconscious repetition of practices over time in Mountain Sights is not a "planned" appropriation for respondents, these practices are not random since they stem from a common source: the role and function of public space in a multiethnic neighbourhood. In fact, three-quarters of respondents in this sample made it very clear that public spaces in Mountain Sights assume very different roles than they do in many host society neighbourhoods.

For respondents, public spaces in Mountain Sights (and in multiethnic areas such as Côte des Neiges) serve mainly as gathering places. While parks are usually always considered to be gathering places of sorts (Cooper Marcus, 1990), 16 respondents said that the intensity of this function increases in multiethnic neighbourhoods. In addition, for these respondents, Mountain Sights differs from other multiethnic neighbourhoods in that *all* public and semi-public spaces act as community gathering places. Several City employees also noted that parks take on this same function in Anglophone neighbourhoods, particularly in municipalities and districts near Côte des Neiges (Westmount, Notre Dame de Grâce, Côte St. Luc, Town of Mount Royal). They also observed that most Montreal parks had this same function up until the early 1970's, since there was no air-conditioning in those days, and also because French Canadian society at the time was believed to be more family and community-oriented.

Almost half also feel that public spaces in Mountain Sights serve to reinforce ethnocultural identity for South Asians, probably because South Asians predominate in these spaces. For two thirds of respondents, these spaces also reinforce local identity (the Mountain Sights identity) because they have been physically marked, and often created, by local residents (the community garden is one example). On the other hand, not a single respondent believes that residents have any great desire to see architectural or design features in public space that remind them of their home countries. Therefore, they believe that public spaces in Mountain Sights do not reinforce identification with the built environment in immigrants' home countries.

For almost all respondents (22), public spaces in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights also play an intercultural teaching role for immigrants, since many immigrants have never lived in such close quarters with people of very different racial and cultural origins. The problem with this assessment is that it is not true for many immigrant groups present on the street – Black West Indians are used to living alongside Indians, Lebanese, Portuguese, Chinese, and many other ethnic groups in Caribbean nations, and the same is true for immigrants from many African countries, for example. This assessment *is* true, however, for immigrants from Sri Lanka, Pakistan, or Bangladesh. This aside, municipal or public authorities in this group all said that local public spaces do not help teach immigrants about their host society because French or English Canadians are absent from these spaces. Most community workers (and one employee with the Parks Department) disagree, arguing that the simple presence of established immigrants in the neighbourhood helps teach newer arrivals about public life in Montreal.

> "There's a socialization process that's encouraged in these parks, especially where there are few Québécois. These people arrive with ways of doing things that are completely different, but over time, they watch how others do things in the park and learn that way. The park's an ideal spot for people to learn about where they are from the safety net of their own group. You also learn at what time and in what ways different things happen, and how other people react to them." (municipal employee, no. 36)

Accommodating the new and different

While respondents agree that these different public space roles (gathering places, identity reinforcement, intercultural teaching role) cross ethnocultural boundaries in the neighbourhood, some (12) also pointed out that ethnocultural diversity modifies these roles and functions somewhat. For example, several pointed out that not all South Asians might want the same degree of physical separation between the sexes in public space. One third also believes that the children of immigrants will not have the same public space desires as their parents might. However, as one municipal employee observed, most residents of Mountain Sights are immigrants. Since new immigrant flows to Mountain Sights will probably continue, this means that the intensity and diversity of these uses and appropriations are not likely to taper off in the near future.

On the other hand, respondents who are based in Côte des Neiges all said that these same uses also exist in host society neighbourhoods, only in a different form (and therefore are not 'ethnocultural' at all). As one respondent in the housing sector observed, attending a place of worship or a recreational facility is common to all cultures. The difference is that in host society neighbourhoods, churches and recreational facilities have been established over a period of decades, often by charitable groups. These things have not been formally established in Mountain Sights, not because different groups have not tried, but because many of their requests (Hindu prayer centre, an Indian club) have been denied or discouraged by the City. In these cases, residents have no alternative but to informally modify existing spaces to these ends.

However, many local actors admit that informal modifications or appropriations of public space do occur according to the uses and desires common to particular ethnocultural groups. One example that came up quite often is the adaptation of building foyers to "Sri Lankan common

rooms". On the other hand, several local municipal actors did say that the mis-adaptation of public space is a common problem across Montreal in general.

> "I'm not sure if the park responds to their needs or not. I know that lots of things have been done there recently, but I'm not sure if it's enough. [...] The park was conceived over forty years ago for the practices of people at that time. But it's not the same people living there now. I'm not even sure if it responded to the needs of the people living there forty years ago either. The City built the same kind of parks everywhere." (municipal employee, no. 47)

c) The suitability of public spaces and availability of alternatives

If public spaces in Mountain Sights are not necessarily responding well to the uses and functions being demanded of them, this brings up the question of fit. Essentially, fit refers to the way that socio-cultural needs and wants are 'designed into' a public space in a way that works with the preferences and habits of those who will be using the space (Lawrence-Zuniga, 1997). Although none of the respondents in this sample believe that public and semi-public spaces in Mountain Sights are well suited to the type or frequency of use being made of them, one third believes that they are adequate (on the other hand, none of these particular actors had visited Mountain Sights recently). However, two thirds firmly believe that local spaces require a certain amount of tweaking in order to help them fit better with current socio-cultural realities. Some feel that the tweaking required is very minor because:

> "Too much work has already been put into the park, now it's time to pay more attention to parks in other areas." (municipal employee, no. 36)

The majority, however, feel that alterations are required. Suggestions include changing the vocation of certain spaces (transforming an alley into an outdoor courtyard, for example, or the park chalet into a youth centre), creating micro-spaces that are more culturally sensitive, or creating other options from scratch (finding space in the surrounding area for a recreation centre or library, for example).

According to half of these respondents, if more space is provided for daily living, then many problem uses will disappear. This has been the experience of several respondents in the housing sector, who have modified some of the interior walls of apartment buildings they manage in the neighbourhood in order to create larger apartments.

> "We've been increasing the size of our apartments so that people will be less inclined to leave. I had nine people living in a 3 ½ on Mountain Sights. And when the 3 ½ next door was free, we opened up the wall for them, and since then their apartment is really well looked after because they have more room. I think these actions will help stabilize the population – they are more comfortable, and I reduce wear and tear on the apartment." (public institutional employee, no. 46)

On the other hand, several community group workers report that the space actually exists but is inaccessible to residents. For example, they note that many buildings have two basement levels that are usually off-limits to tenants. Revising the vocation of these basement levels might increase available storage, leisure, or parking space for residents.

In summary, respondents agree that existing spaces are excessively used and have sometimes been granted roles and functions that they were not originally designed to accommodate. Although the fit between the way they are actually used and the way they are programmed is not clean, this does not mean that they cannot be made more suitable. Many feel that this will encourage more residents to remain in the neighbourhood while removing the pressures that contribute towards degradation. Although the majority of respondents tend to believe that certain culturally-specific practices contribute towards the misuse or even degradation of local spaces, others are not so sure. The only point of agreement here is that public spaces in Mountain Sights play a more social role for residents than public spaces do in a host society neighbourhood. However, respondents are not united in their perception of the importance of this distinction. Again, those who emphasize difference at this point also tend to de-emphasize it in their decision-making process and vice versa, as we will see in the following sections.

In passing, it bears mention here that respondents of immigrant origin have the same perceptions of public space in Mountain Sights as their other colleagues do. In fact, this entire sample holds what might unofficially be called a host society conception of public space. This is significant, because critics believe that the municipal planning process will become more culturally sensitive once more immigrants and minorities are hired by cities and planning firms (Qadeer, 1997: 493; Greed, 1999; De Graft-Johnson, 1999: 112-4).

7.3 THE PROCESS OF LOCAL PLANNING AND IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS

Mountain Sights forms part of the territory of intervention for all respondents in this sample. How they perceive and carry out planning and management actions in the area, alone or with local residents' groups, will eventually help pinpoint the convergences and dissimilarities between the different approaches to planning used in this multiethnic neighbourhood, as well as the problems arising during their application.

7.3.1 Involvement in Local Planning Efforts

When asked to discuss their level of involvement in planning efforts in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights, many community group workers and public authorities also brought up residents' involvement levels as well.

a) Reasons for the involvement of actors in the non-profit and public service sectors

One group of 21 respondents has been involved in the planning efforts of local residents' groups, while the remaining five respondents have never been involved. For those in the involved group, roughly half (11) have participated regularly in meetings and activities of the Residents' Association. Most work for community-based organizations or public institutions, although two are municipal field officers. They are involved because they are mandated to do so, and also because they are personally very concerned about the quality of life in Mountain Sights. On the other hand, ten are only involved because it forms part of their job (most are municipal employees). Five participate intermittently in specific projects or provide technical advice when asked. The remaining five respondents are more superficially involved. Some have only attended several meetings, while others have presented final plans or programs to local residents in an official capacity.

Respondents who are not involved have never carried out any sort of public space planning or management activity in the neighbourhood, either because this is outside their mandate or sphere of action, or because the occasion has never arisen. They are nonetheless good sources of information because they are familiar with the context from another angle.

b) Perceptions of residents' levels of involvement

Respondents who are highly or intermittently involved (16) made three main observations with respect to residents' involvement in local planning efforts. These observations coincide with the general observations made by involved residents interviewed for this study. The first observation is that a core group of residents is almost always present, although their membership is rather fluid (which respondents consider to be normal). The second is that long-term immigrants are more likely to get involved than newer arrivals, because new arrivals are said to be more concerned about the basics of starting a new life in Canada while established immigrants have the 'mental time' to attend to questions of environmental quality. On the other hand, on-site community workers noted that new arrivals often get involved right away in social activities, while activities that require interactions with authorities are left up to more established immigrants.

> "A lot of older immigrants are involved in pressure tactics, but the newer ones get involved in things like the cleaning bee. When they're ready, they will get more involved. But it's not everybody who can either, its people with certain personal qualities. The new immigrant who arrives here and has a child right away, she goes to the park and notices that there's glass everywhere. She's perfectly capable of complaining about this, but she's probably not ready to take action against the City on it. These stages are all important." (community group worker, no. 27)

The third observation is that women are much more involved in planning activities in the neighbourhood than men. Like many involved residents, none of these involved respondents seemed aware that many involved female residents juggle work, family life, and community involvement, since they all said that these women are homemakers who have the free time to devote to these activities. Eight said that men do not get involved because they work shifts or long hours, or because they simply do not care.

> "It's the women who are most concerned with cleanliness, with the condition of their living areas and environment. The men don't give a damn."
> (community group worker, no. 45)

Many French Canadian female respondents said that they were shocked by the imbalance of power between the sexes when they first started working with residents. They all report trying to deliberately empower women in order to rectify this imbalance, although several are aware that some female residents had suffered breakdowns in their marriage or had to withdraw from planning activities because the public role they had adopted was not well-received by their family or ethnic community.

> "Women in these cultures are not used to speaking up, and especially not in the presence of men. They have to discuss everything with their husbands and let them make the final decision. The women on the street who are fairly involved are often perceived strangely, by women and men. It was hard for these women to even get out of the house at night to attend meetings. There were quite a few family ruptures that these women had to live through."
> (community group worker, no. 42)

These respondents' female empowerment objectives sometimes created problems in terms of leadership roles. They admitted that women whom they had installed in leadership roles sometimes had no idea what to do. In addition, conflict occasionally arose within residents' groups because the handful of South Asian men who were present reportedly sometimes had difficulty accepting orders from a woman.

> "So what we told them was that the person who's responsible for the garden is also the person who votes. And they said no, it's the men who should vote. We said no, it's the person who's in charge of the garden, and that's rarely the husband. It's because men don't let their wives vote in this community and women always walk behind the man. There was almost a battle to the death because of this." (municipal employee, no. 43)

This type of interference with local cultural ways of doing, however well intentioned, will appear again throughout this section on perceptions of the planning process.

As an aside, 11 respondents also went on to talk about participation levels among local building owners and janitors, even though not all building owners and janitors are residents of Mountain Sights. To some extent, these respondents seem to confuse 'resident' (or inhabitant) with someone who has a vested interest in a local property or business. In any event, their comments are illustrative of the situation in the neighbourhood. They report that local building owners

(with the exception of the non-profit organization that manages the four OSBL buildings on Mountain Sights) are completely uninvolved in local planning efforts, which is not necessarily true. Some respondents said that this is a common phenomenon in lower income areas in general, in part because these building owners often cannot afford to undertake needed renovations. On the other hand, several also remarked that local building owners are reluctant to take part in the activities of residents' groups because these people are their tenants or because they do not feel that these groups are forums for building owners. As for janitors (many who reside on-site), some respondents remarked that janitors in lower income areas such as Mountain Sights are often not paid a salary. They receive free rent in return for janitorial duties but still have to work at another job in order to make a living, which limits their ability and desire to participate.

7.3.2 Finding Shared Solutions: Perceptions of the Planning or Intervention Process

Respondents' attitudes towards the different planning efforts that have been carried out in Mountain Sights depend mainly on how successful their involvement or project was deemed to be. Highly involved respondents (11) believe that grassroots types of approaches (such as those used by the Residents' Association, and by themselves, in quite a few cases) work very well. Intermittently involved respondents (5) tend to report encountering greater difficulties, mainly because some were implementing top-down municipal projects, although in principle they believe that grassroots approaches emphasizing consensus-building, negotiation, collaboration, and conflict resolution are more effective given the results that have been obtained by using them.

> "Look at what's happened – they wanted a basketball court, and they got a basketball court. They wanted a community garden, they got a community garden. […] So basically in the park, the things they asked for, they got. That's very good. I can tell you about some Italians who have been asking for a *bocce* court for ten years and are only hoping to get it this year. But the people of Mountain Sights, basically within a year of asking for something, it comes."
> (municipal employee, no. 32)

On the other hand, five superficially involved respondents, who all came in at the mid-point or at the end of a local planning effort, tend to only see an interest group making a request to the City for certain types of services. They are all aware that there is an informal planning process behind this demand, but do not seem to consider it important enough to warrant mentioning.

By all accounts, finding shared solutions in this multiethnic neighbourhood is not always an easy process. Accustomed to working within a public service work culture, the absence of this mode of working and communicating among involved residents in Mountain Sights is often a source of frustration (for 16, in fact).

> "Other things are linked to their habit of being late or of not showing up at all. For me it's easy to manage an agenda. But using a calendar and a daily agenda is a very Western way of operating. They don't have the same way of planning their days." (community group worker, no. 42)

7.3.3 The Difficulty of Doing Planning in a Multiethnic Context

Involved actors have mixed feelings about their planning experience in this multiethnic neighbourhood. Their main difficulties involve the problem of getting people mobilized around a common project, the non-democratic operation of residents' groups, and problems of cross-cultural communication. In short, many of their difficulties mirror those mentioned by involved residents in this study, although the problems experienced by some respondents arise more from the difficulty of accepting other ways of doing than from the complexity of reaching residents from a diversity of cultures and personal trajectories.

a) Getting people mobilized around a common project

Involved respondents are evenly split in terms of the ease or difficulty they have experienced in getting residents of Mountain Sights, and in immigrant or multiethnic areas in general, mobilized around a common project. One group of eight said that it is easier, because in their experience, immigrants are more motivated to improve their lives than lower income French Canadians are.

> "It's easier to work with poor immigrants than poor Québécois, because they don't have a culture of poverty. If you are working in a Francophone area with people who have been living on welfare for two or three generations, try to change things there. These are people who are resigned to their lot. Among immigrants, there's a sort of natural selection that's already been done. These are people with the psychological strength to immigrate. So they'll do things that Québécois won't." (community group worker, no. 52)

> "It helps the Mountain Sights committee that they are all immigrants. It makes them easier to work with somehow. They are more willing to take care of things themselves than French Canadians are." (public institutional employee, no. 46)

On the other hand, the other group of eight said that it is very hard to get immigrants mobilized or to get them to at least participate. They feel that immigrants (especially newer arrivals) are not inclined to speak out about their concerns and that immigrants do not necessarily consider certain environmental issues to be a problem. Either they are preoccupied with 'getting ahead' or else they come from far worse contexts.

> "If you've lived through a war, a cockroach problem is not all that serious. People who arrive from Bangladesh, fresh from a rural area with no electricity, you can imagine that they won't be too critical. But the result is that we never hear from them." (municipal employee, no. 28)

In addition, these respondents believe that members of local residents' groups are not terribly outspoken. They say that they get little feedback from residents (some said they cannot seem to get direct "yes" or "no" answer) and so they are never sure what residents in these groups are really thinking.

> "My perception is actually that the people who have arrived most recently are either shyer or else they're just more discreet. So it's more difficult to find out how these people feel, and more difficult to get feedback."
> (municipal employee, no. 35)

For example, some note that when public authorities visit the Community Centre to speak with residents, even the most activist residents on the street become very subdued in their presence. Respondents who are themselves of immigrant origin are also frustrated by this - just because they understand this reaction does not mean they know how to deal with it professionally.

Mobilization is also blocked by the immense difficulty involved respondents have when trying to do outreach in the neighbourhood. Quite a few have tried to do door-to-door work, with varying success rates. While on-site community workers report feeling the most adept, the rest feel like they are banging their head against a wall. First of all, they believe that many residents are suspicious of strangers knocking on their door and asking 'personal' questions, either due to

experiences in their home countries or because they do not have legal immigrant status. Second, residents do not always appear receptive to the message they are bringing.

> "Door-to-door work was as difficult in Mountain Sights as in other sectors of Côte des Neiges. I often saw it as being a sort of suspicion against all that's official, authority, public. I also think they were suspicious of strangers knocking on their door. Plus, the message I was carrying on recycling wasn't that important for them, so they weren't really listening." (municipal employee, no. 35)

b) Democracy and the struggle for control

All involved respondents (21) feel that local social dynamics interfere with their ability to get people in the neighbourhood participating in local planning efforts or more importantly, in 'their' planning project. The most common complaint voiced by these respondents relates to social hierarchies on the street. First of all, some said that certain individuals consider themselves to be community leaders and want to have total control over projects. These residents sometimes try to assume ultimate decision-making power, much to the consternation of respondents who feel that *they* are the ones in the position of authority. In addition, most noted that women in general become less vocal and less motivated in the presence of men, which causes problems within local group functioning. Lastly, the hierarchy that exists between older and newer residents, especially between West Indians and South Asians, means that some residents are reluctant to participate if the other participants come from different ethnocultural groups. Many respondents (14) feel that they have to put extra time and effort into making sure that they retain control (very important for many) and that other residents are not pushed aside.

> "Getting people organized is extremely difficult due to the hierarchy that seems to exist on the street. Some people are "leaders" and have, or want to have, control over activities. This hierarchy is also due to immigrant groups and to the value placed on men as opposed to women. So it's hard for me, because I don't share those values and have no way of working within them."
> (community group worker, no. 27)

For two thirds of involved actors, dealing with such power struggles is a tiresome side effect of doing planning in multiethnic or immigrant areas in general. They all believe that local planning activities should be conducted using a democratic or fair group process, notions that they feel residents in immigrant areas are not familiar with. Since this was also a complaint voiced by

many residents, it is interesting to witness the extent to which the majority of respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors believe that immigrants are unfamiliar with the basic notions of democratic process.

> "I see it as a problem that lies within the community, which makes it hard for them to accept that this is a democratic operation. They would like sometimes to be able to say "I don't like her, so she shouldn't have the right to be on the committee". And so it's hard for them to accept that everyone has their word to say." (municipal employee, no. 43)

Many (especially community group workers) try to institute what some call the "working methods of Québécois society", which for them means democratic processes, equal opportunities for women, and outcomes that reflect Québécois social values. There is another factor at work here, because the majority also admit that they have no idea how to work within a different cultural framework (even respondents who are themselves of immigrant origin feel this way). Therefore, they prefer to ignore different ways of doing altogether.

> "I actually pay no attention to their cultural values. It's not that I don't realize that there are particular dynamics between men and women here or that people might be working from completely different points of view than I am. It's that I honestly have no understanding of what these cultural differences might be or how to deal with them." (community group worker, no. 27)

This deliberate 'blindness to difference' has been mentioned in almost every study on the sensitivity of planners or municipal managers to cultural diversity that has been published. It seems to occur mainly when public actors feel overwhelmed by the complexity of working within a culturally diverse context or when they do not feel capable of making decisions in areas where they have little competence (assessing the value or importance of certain culturally-based practices or requests, for example) (Frisken and Wallace, 2000). It also seems to occur when public actors believe that integration into the host society supersedes retention of ethno-specific characteristics that contradict the public values of the host (Germain *et al*, 2003). In this respect, residents who complain that some community group workers and public sector actors want to transform their neighbourhood into a more "manageable French Canadian one" are not all that far off.

c) The problem of communicating across cultures

Cross-cultural communication is one of the biggest hurdles faced by 18 out of 21 involved respondents in this sample, just as it was for involved residents. The difficulty involved in negotiating between different communication styles was often brought up by respondents as something that negatively affected their work in Mountain Sights and in Côte des Neiges in general. Some individuals belonging to certain newer South Asian groups (Pakistani, Bengali, and Sri Lankan) are often perceived as being more verbally aggressive than those belonging to more established groups (Indian, West Indian, and Haitian). Quite a few respondents (12) mentioned that some individuals belonging to these newer groups "act badly" during meetings and activities (they often accuse them of having poor manners or of trying to intimidate the others). All said that they sometimes have a hard job "reading" residents, since things like speech patterns and non-verbal cues are not the same between cultures. It is interesting to note that different ways of relating to members of the opposite sex are disturbing for many French Canadian male respondents, especially when women refuse to look at them or talk to them.

Linguistic differences during local planning actions are an issue mentioned by all these respondents. Not all of them are fluent in English, which is a problem considering that the majority of residents they have worked with in the neighbourhood speak only English. This handicaps their actions, especially since residents are not always fluent enough in French to be able to read 'official' documents or to make themselves understood. Some respondents feel very annoyed if residents speak among themselves in their own language during local planning actions. Either these actors feel left out or else they feel that this also excludes other residents and so is undemocratic.

Communicating across cultures also involves communicating the interests, expectations, or concerns held by members of one ethnocultural group to those belonging to a different group, whose members may hold a very different set of expectations and concerns (Dingwaney and Maier, 1995). This collision of culturally different expectations was an issue mentioned by many involved respondents. The example that cropped up most frequently is the community garden. These respondents said that having a plot in the community garden is considered to be very important for many South Asian residents because it is like owning land (which is linked to their status in their community). Some respondents said that this leads to all kinds of problems,

notably when some South Asian residents refuse to give up their garden plot at the end of the season or else are inclined to take action if anyone dares trespass on "their land".

Respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors perceive the expectations that residents hold of the planning process and of municipal service delivery very differently than do residents in this study. Some (7) feel that residents of Mountain Sights have overly high expectations of the type of services and facilities they should be receiving from the City considering that they could not even expect to have these things in their home countries. Excessively high expectations are also considered to be a problem among many immigrant or ethnic groups across Montreal. It is important to note that these respondents do not apply this type of expectation to citizens of Montreal who belong to host society groups (mainly French Canadian). The spectre of pejorative attitudes towards immigrants is therefore hard to dismiss in this instance.

On the other hand, 19 believe that on the contrary, residents of Mountain Sights (and of Côte des Neiges as well) have overly low expectations of municipal service delivery. Some said these low expectations arise because immigrants have no idea what types of services or responses they should be getting from public authorities (for several, this was also true of lower income residents in general), while others said that this is because immigrants come from contexts where authorities are unresponsive or absent. In other words, this group appears to underestimate the knowledge and expectations that many immigrant residents in the neighbourhood have of municipal planning and service delivery.

> "It's a lot of new immigrants there, people who have not learned to speak out. These people often come from countries where freedom of speech is very strongly repressed, and they have not learned yet to stand up for their rights. This is something I've noticed in all the sectors where there are new arrivals. Also, it's difficult to go and find out what they want, they aren't comfortable. It's even more difficult in communities where culturally women don't have the right of speech. So we often have little to go on in multiethnic areas."
> (municipal employee, no. 36)

In short, most of the difficulties that respondents encounter when doing planning in a multiethnic immigrant neighbourhood reduce to differences between two very different cultural and professional levels: a French Canadian public service/non-profit level and a more diverse (and highly immigrant) local level. Significantly, respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors who report the least number of problems and who are the most satisfied with the outcome

of their work are those who state that they are willing to give up certain ideas and accept other ways of operating in order to achieve an end that satisfies everyone.

7.3.4 Incorporating "Foreign" Planning Approaches?

The extent to which involved residents in Mountain Sights use planning methods or conceptions "brought over" from their home countries is a matter of contention for many community group workers and public sector authorities. The majority (18) believe that residents of Mountain Sights who have been active in local interventions had no prior experience in planning or community development before coming to Canada, and only "became active after moving into a neighbourhood that they find to be sub-standard" (municipal employee, no. 39). This directly contradicts the responses provided by many involved immigrant residents themselves on this issue.

Only one third (7) feels that involved residents are operating in a manner that draws innately on previous experiences in their home countries.

> "I wouldn't be surprised if the models of community organizing and planning they try to implement here are those from their home countries, but our role is to bring them back to the present context. When we talk about the environment, they do tell me that in their country, they would do like this or that. Not to say that they want to do it here, more like observations." (community group worker, no. 42)

These particular respondents also believe that municipal authorities should be paying more attention to the way that actors in other cities and countries are dealing with similar planning problems.

> "The expertise of technical people around the world should be invoked to decide how these requests should be dealt with. You can't stay blindfolded in your own little Montreal world here. [...] I think if our technical people took a little initiative, they'd probably find that a thousand articles have been written about this. A lot of people are dealing with the same issues and concerns, and there are designers and architects elsewhere who have thought about this and have come up with innovative ways of dealing with it." (municipal employee, no. 32)

On the other hand, almost all community group workers and public authorities who have been involved in some way in planning efforts in Mountain Sights said that their thinking on planning has changed as a result of this experience, since they have come to realize that they cannot do planning in a multiethnic neighbourhood the same way that they would in a "Québécois" neighbourhood. In three cases, respondents only realized this after their project failed in Mountain Sights.

> "The failure of the black box project is the fault of the City administration. Just the physical configuration of the street with its really steep inclines is not an ideal spot for a pilot project. I would have never started with Mountain Sights. The socio-economic context is complicated enough without having enormous technical difficulties. [...] These were solutions that the City dreamed up, not ones the residents asked for. And they had a lot of discussions with residents and janitors and building owners but didn't listen to their concerns. And now it's blocked everything we want to do in the neighbourhood because residents have lost confidence in us." (municipal employee, no. 35)

Similar attitudes, experiences, and difficulties have been noted by community development workers and public authorities working with all types of informal interest groups (Briassoulis, 1998; Hamdi and Goethert, 1997; Rabrenovic, 1996) and may not necessarily be unique to multiethnic areas, although issues of cross-cultural understanding and acceptance certainly are. In this section on perceptions of the planning process, respondents are divided in terms of their ability to work comfortably within a culturally diverse context. While all admit experiencing difficulties that are similar to those experienced by involved residents in this study (certain aspects of democratic process, door-to-door work, communicating between different languages and culturally-based customs, mobilizing residents and other actors, etc.), some appear to have great difficulty in working amidst cultures whose social dynamics or tenets seem to be in confrontation with their own. Pejorative attitudes towards immigrants, while not common, have cropped up during this discussion, which leads back once more to the basic issue underlying all theoretical and practical approaches to planning in culturally diverse contexts – the value placed on assimilation versus inclusion. As the following section will show, these issues find their echo in the receptiveness of community group workers and public authorities to difference, and in the way that they operate and make decisions in multiethnic contexts in general.

7.4 MUNICIPAL PLANNING APPROACHES AND SERVICE DELIVERY IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS

Unlike the residents of Mountain Sights who were interviewed for this study, community group workers and public authorities act on the form and function of public space as required by their employer or institutional mandate. Municipal actors in particular are embedded in the formal planning system by virtue of their occupation. In the literature on political systems, public sector actors are often seen as being "cogs in the machine", implementing decisions mechanically based on the policies and procedures dictated by these larger structures (Graham *et al*, 1998). On the other hand, those in the non-profit sector (especially since the anti-establishment movements of the 1960's) are often considered to be independent thinkers fighting for the health and rights of citizens who are overlooked by an impersonal system (Gilroy, 1993). The extent to which "the system" exists independently of these actors' own personal philosophies and practices is debatable, however (Garber, 2000). As Isin (2000a: 15) suggests, we need to replace the idea that the city is a container of politics with the notion that the city is a generator of politics. It is easy to say that grassroots planning movements are counter-hegemonic (Holston, 1998), but they too are embedded within the same larger social and political context as formal planning actions are. Likewise, interviews with community group workers and public authorities show that although a separation does exist between what might be called "community development" and "bureaucratic" mentalities, other factors play a much larger role in determining how and why they make the decisions they do in multiethnic contexts.

7.4.1 Receptiveness to Difference: Decision-Making in Multiethnic Contexts

The City of Montreal has had a cultural diversity management strategy since 2000 and a guide for managers and decision-makers based on the concept of reasonable accommodation since 2001 (refer to section 1.4.2 in Chapter 1 for details). As we noted in Chapter 1, despite the existence of this interculturalism strategy, it appears that many municipal actors are effectively working blind (Germain *et al*, 2003: 42; Richardson, 2001; Martin, 2000). In addition, studies on Montreal have noted that this 'official' cultural diversity strategy does not always filter down through various municipal departments. For example, only a handful of City of Montreal departments have developed internal interculturalism policies or action plans (Germain *et al*, 2003: 171), such as the Sports and Recreation Department (Richardson, 2001). However, such

internal departmental strategies or action plans are not always applied uniformly between regional offices and decision-makers when they do exist (Germain *et al*, 2003: 11). If little information is available regarding the way that City of Montreal decision-makers deal with diversity in their daily operations, even less exists with respect to the way that community group workers and public institutional authorities operate in culturally diverse contexts.

Our findings on the way that respondents make decisions and operate in culturally diverse contexts will be presented in this section. In terms of personal receptiveness to difference, two main groups emerge – one group is less receptive to difference and the other is more receptive. The first group tends to hold assimilationist conceptions of cultural difference, believing that difference takes second place to a homogeneous public good. The second group holds more inclusionist conceptions of difference, granting difference equal consideration in the decision-making process. In order to correlate these personal attitudes with operational realities, we will also examine how personal attitudes to difference play out under different cultural diversity mandates (existence or lack of a cultural diversity strategy) and in different operational contexts.

a) Receptiveness to all forms of social diversity

When asked to discuss how they make decisions in multiethnic contexts, more than two thirds of community group workers and public authorities pointed out that in their daily work, they are confronted by many different forms of social diversity that all require attention, above and beyond cultural diversity. This point will be highlighted during our comparative analysis and discussion of findings (Chapter 8), where the implementation of strategic programs by the City of Montreal respecting the safety of women and more recently, the accessibility of municipal services to the handicapped, will be contrasted with the way that the City's reasonable accommodation strategy has been addressed by different municipal departments.

Half of the respondent sample (13) believes that the safety of women takes precedence over the needs of any other social group, and will take immediate action to address these concerns in public space. However, nine of these respondents also said that other dimensions (cultural upbringing, for example) can affect the suitability of decisions on women's safety issues. Fencing is an example that came up quite often. Quite a few respondents said that although the accepted municipal practice is to avoid putting up fences or enclosures in public spaces because

women can become trapped in them, fences and enclosures are actually desirable to women of certain groups and under certain circumstances, although this does not always mean that decision-makers should accommodate these desires.

> "Some things we can't do anything about. We won't put a fence up around play areas. It's a public space that's open to everyone. We'll only put up a fence if a playground backs onto a street. But otherwise, you'll have to supervise your children and make sure they don't wander into other areas of the park. Women of other countries might like to have closed-in spaces for themselves, but the day that they're followed and assaulted in this space, what will they say then?" (municipal employee, no. 30)

> "The Parks Department, well, I can think of a hundred and one contradictions to their policies right now. They don't want to put a fence or a bush in to create private spaces, but there are fences and bushes being put in all over the place. I don't agree with fences and bushes either, but sometimes you need them. I don't want my son running out into the street, I'd like to know that he's safe inside a fenced-in play area. There are ways to configure things so that you respect everyone's needs if you think hard enough." (municipal employee, no. 32)

Women's safety needs aside, most municipal actors interviewed for this study will only pay lip-service to other forms of social diversity (needs of the elderly, the handicapped, etc.) unless there is proof that the different needs of a particular interest group should be considered.

> "We're talking about micro-populations, and it's only one tenth of one percent of the population that's handicapped. So we make sure that the main walkway's accessible. That doesn't mean the park's equipment is accessible, but at least the person can enter the park. If the park's right behind a physical rehabilitation centre or chronic care facility, we'll pay more attention. But there are many intrinsic and temporary handicaps: the elderly, the blind, the parent with a stroller. We have to respond to the needs of everyone then in the most general way possible." (municipal employee, no. 36)

b) Receptiveness to ethnocultural diversity

The validity that respondents assign to cultural difference and diversity in their decision-making process depends on whether or not they feel that these groups have the right to express certain aspects of their culture in public space.

Assimilationist attitudes

One group of 11 respondents (in all sectors) feels that decision-making in multiethnic contexts should be conducted exactly the same way that it would in more homogeneous contexts, and that decisions on public space should always reflect the overall values of what they consider to be Québécois (or French Canadian) society.

> "According to me, immigrants need to integrate into the host community and learn to live according to the rules of life in their new home. If I go live overseas, there may be things done in public space that might shock me, but I will respect them and will try to live according to these new norms."
> (municipal employee, no. 36)

In addition, they feel that cultural differences do not have enough validity to be accommodated on a regular basis because they are mutable and temporary. First of all, they believe that multiethnic areas are usually transit zones. Second, they believe that the children of immigrants have public space values and practices that are similar to those of the host society. Therefore, accommodating the needs of immigrants in public space is not all that necessary considering that these are temporary needs (particular only to immigrants or else subject to change over the years that an immigrant resides in Canada). In other words, these respondents tend to have a situational conception of ethnic identity, although their conception can also be related to Bentley's (1987) idea that ethnic identity can change over the generations and over the course of life experiences.

> "People who are living in their own reality and who don't have the experience that we have don't know that maybe their reality will have changed in five years. They'll change and their children won't have the same attitudes at all. So does it make sense to consider large-scale changes to the park, or is it better to only modify little things that aren't permanent?" (municipal employee, no. 36)

For these respondents, giving in to ethno-specific requests opens a Pandora's box of problems: exclusion (particularly when a space is redesigned or set aside for use by one particular group), nuisance or conflict (incompatible values and lifestyles, excessive noise), or an increase in ethno-specific demands from many different groups.

Their professional attitude to decision-making is therefore assimilationist, since they ignore or deny ethnocultural differences in favour of commonalities, unless it becomes apparent that the specificity actually *is* the commonality. These actors will react to ethno-specific requests that are placed before them, but will not make any attempt to find out what the diverse concerns of different ethnocultural groups are beforehand. However, they are all willing to consider ethno-specific requests if an interest group can demonstrate that:

1. These are fundamental cultural needs that should not be denied (there are qualifications that need to be made here, however - freedom *of* worship does not mean freedom *to* worship in any neighbourhood or context).
2. The ability to enjoy the requested feature will improve their chances for integration and survival (community garden, commercial establishment).
3. The majority of residents or users of the feature (park, recreational facility) agree that this modification is necessary.

Inclusionist attitudes

A larger group of 15 respondents (five of whom work for community-based organizations) believe that decisions taken in multiethnic contexts should be sensitive to all forms of difference (women, the handicapped, the elderly, for example), and not only to ethnocultural difference. Because ethnocultural difference is one of the main forms of difference in multiethnic contexts, however, they feel that it should always be granted consideration in these situations.

These respondents believe that ethnicity is a fundamental part of identity and that immigrants and ethnocultural communities maintain their customs and mentalities through the generations. Therefore, ethnic identity for them has a component that is primordial, in addition to one that is also essential to the maintenance of the psyche. Integration does not mean that immigrants will suddenly replace their public space visions and uses with brand new "Canadian" ones. For this

reason, they are more willing to assign a higher priority to ethnocultural difference in their decision-making process.

> "We don't want to impose things because it's they who live there, not me. At this level we're very sensitive to how they are. There are some things that aren't going to change, some things are fundamental to their culture, like playing certain types of sports. [...] We work differently depending on people's mentality and on whether they are integrated or not, on how long the community has been in Montreal. But I have one goal, and that's to make sure that everyone's need is answered in one way or another." (municipal employee, no. 43)

Therefore, this particular group of actors tries to be inclusive in their decision-making because they believe that one can be sensitive to the needs and concerns of many different groups while still respecting the overall planning framework. However, this does not mean that they will accommodate each and every ethno-specific request, just as they will not necessarily accommodate the requests of every interest group.

> "Permission is attached to the zoning designation of the building, not to the person. Any activity requested by a group, be it a daycare or a synagogue, for us becomes a community that has specific practices. We see these cases every day. We understand that members of a particular synagogue need to be able to walk there on certain days. We have no choice but to accommodate different cultural values." (municipal employee, no. 40)

Ideally, they would like to have information on the different needs and concerns of ethnocultural groups in their territory of intervention beforehand in order to make decisions and create programs that anticipate the public space needs or concerns of these groups. While those working for community-based organizations have little difficulty being proactive in their decision-making and actions, those with the City and with local public institutions are limited by operational constraints or by the consequences of accepting or denying a particular request. Therefore, these latter ten actors have no choice but to be reactive, even though they try to be inclusive in their decision-making.

> "We'd like to be able to reach out and be more proactive but the framework doesn't exist, so we're more inclined to work at the level of a project that concerns everyone than on negotiating cultural differences and needs for every space." (municipal employee, no. 43)

It is also interesting to note that respondents who are more culturally neutral in their perceptions of public space use and concerns all fall into this inclusionist group of respondents, although not all respondents in the inclusionist group are culturally neutral in terms of their perceptions of public space use.

These two groups, one holding assimilationist conceptions and reporting that they are not all that receptive to difference, and the other holding inclusionist conceptions and reporting that they are open to difference, are both limited in the extent to which they can respond positively to difference. For 21 out of 26 respondents, their ability to be receptive to difference in the decision-making process is also conditioned by operational considerations, above and beyond their personal orientations. However, it bears note that there is little correlation here between a respondent's place of employment (community-based organization, City of Montreal department, public institution), the existence of an overall departmental or institutional cultural diversity strategy (such as the City of Montreal's reasonable accommodation guidelines), and these very personal beliefs. As we will see in the next section, operational receptiveness to difference is sometimes very different than personal receptiveness.

7.4.2 Operational Considerations in Multiethnic Contexts

Operational considerations refer to factors in the work environment (institutional mandate and policies, managerial practice, professional experience, office location, service delivery, budgets, etc.) that affect and mold how employees and businesses operate. In fact, the main principle of institutional reorganization is to remove constraints associated with these factors in order to ensure more effective service delivery (Applebaum, 1995). How effectively do our respondents operate and deliver services in culturally diverse contexts? To what extent to personal attitudes colour receptiveness to difference in practice? As our findings suggest, the influence exerted by operational factors on respondents' decision-making and practice in culturally diverse contexts turns out to be quite strong.

a) Institutional mandate and approach

Interview findings show that the presence of an institutional mandate regarding the treatment of cultural diversity directly affects the extent to which respondents are willing and able to consider cultural difference in their decision-making, and may actually be one of the most important considerations due to its effect on internal policies and procedures. However, even when such a mandate exists, there is still a considerable degree of variation between municipal departments, public institutions, and community-based organizations in terms of the way that such a mandate is interpreted and implemented.

Municipal authorities

One of the more important findings to emerge from interviews with municipal authorities is that despite the existence of the City of Montreal's official interculturalism strategy and set of management guidelines (reasonable accommodation), the majority of respondents working for the City of Montreal report that their departmental mandate or internal policies do not provide any inkling of how to proceed in multiethnic contexts. Nine out of twelve municipal actors said that their department or division has not adopted the Intercultural Affairs Bureau's reasonable accommodation guidelines in practice. Therefore, in the absence of any departmental guidelines for decision-making in contexts of cultural diversity, they are forced to "make do".

> "It's nice to have stuff like the BAI [Intercultural Affairs Bureau] suggests, but we need actual guidelines that help us sit down with people of that community and decide what to do. [...] Even in the parks, we have no official planning standards and no reference point at all for planning in function of ethnic communities. For example, we often get requests by ethnic communities not to plant trees along the sidewalks, because culturally many people don't like having their front lawns in shade. I end up having to make up my own mind about things that affect a lot of people permanently without any policy support to back me up." (municipal employee, no. 30)

These respondents make do by relying on their field experience and professional training, or else they follow the unwritten code of operations that has always prevailed in their department. Intercultural training is reported to be of little assistance in this matter. Although these respondents have all received some sort of cultural sensitivity training from the Intercultural

Affairs Bureau or from a liaison officer in their department who has been trained to give such sessions, only one respondent said that it had any practical use on a daily basis.

In fact, only three municipal actors report that the City's interculturalism strategy and reasonable accommodation guidelines are used to guide decision-making in their department or division. On the other hand, these respondents go on to say that the reasonable accommodation guidelines provide them with no helpful hints on how to implement or arrive at decisions in practice. They are quietly making up their own policy as they go along.

> "What's happening now in NDG and Côte des Neiges is very much outside the existing policy framework because if we apply it, we suspect that these people will no longer be participating and that they'll use facilities in an unrecognized way, and then we'll really have a problem." (municipal employee, no. 34)

Public institutional authorities

In the case of our six respondents working for public institutions, three work for institutions (the CLSC and the police force) that have both an overall cultural diversity mandate and a set of guidelines for working in multiethnic contexts. These mandates espouse an "integration" approach that is similar to the Intercultural Affairs Bureau's interculturalist approach. The intent of these mandates is to further minority group participation and integration while tailoring programs to stated and unstated needs at the level of ethnocultural communities. These respondents report that they have inclusive approaches to decision-making in practice because they are mandated to act inclusively, regardless of what their own personal philosophy might be.

On the other hand, three respondents work for institutions that have no such mandate. Since all of these respondents have personal attitudes towards difference that can be called assimilationist, in the absence of a mandate calling for greater openness to difference they only consider ethnocultural differences when they have to (in situations of extreme conflict, for example).

Community-based organizations

All eight community group workers in this study are mandated by their organization to work with a multiethnic clientele. On the other hand, none of these organizations have any set of internal guidelines for decision-making in such contexts. Most said that they are pretty much free to develop their own decision-making approaches, although they are constrained in some respects by the objectives of the funding agencies that finance their organizations. Respondents whose organizations are specifically mandated to work with immigrants report having more inclusive decision-making approaches (regardless of their personal attitude to difference), while those whose organizations serve a general clientele tend to prefer assimilationist approaches (these respondents also hold personal attitudes that are more assimilationist).

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In short, if an institutional mandate and set of guidelines exist that specify the need to accommodate cultural difference during the decision-making process, respondents in general will be more open and receptive to difference in practice, even if personally they feel the opposite. On the other hand, if no such mandate and set of internal guidelines exist, actors will choose either assimilationist or inclusionist decision-making approaches, depending on their personal beliefs.

A distinction must be made here between 'mandate' and 'set of internal guidelines'. In some cases, respondents work for organizations or institutions that have both a cultural diversity mandate and a set of operational guidelines, and they make decisions accordingly. The exception is respondents with the City of Montreal, where the existence of these devices at the policy level does not seem to have had a great deal of impact on actors' decision-making in practice, even when individual departments have adopted these approaches as their working strategies. This distinction is puzzling at first, since respondents employed by other institutions with a similar mandate and set of guidelines report the opposite. The answer might be found in other operational factors that constrain or facilitate receptiveness to difference, such as office location or availability of resources.

b) Office location

Centrally located actors tend to be less receptive to ethnocultural difference, although there are two notable exceptions (one is a municipal urban planner and the other a municipal building inspector). The others all said that they do not have a good grasp of what the concerns of residents in multiethnic areas such as Côte des Neiges might be, and report that this affects their ability to make decisions in situations where ethnocultural difference is involved.

Respondents who are physically located in Côte des Neiges or Notre Dame de Grâce feel that they have a good understanding of the concerns of different ethnocultural groups, although initially they sometimes had a hard job figuring out what these concerns might be because individuals from these communities are reluctant to complain or make demands. However, daily exposure has helped them understand the way that different ethnocultural communities think, and has made them aware of the importance of accounting for these differences in their decision-making process.

> "Multiethnicity is our daily reality. Over the years, we've developed a lot of mechanisms for working in multiethnic areas that other Services haven't, just because this is what we do all day long." (municipal employee, no. 43)

> "When I arrived here I was sure someone was filming a movie. There were Africans, Hindus, Jews, Jamaicans, everyone was dressed in their cultural dress. I'd never seen this and I wasn't used to this. Coming from the exterior can be a real shock. You have to learn to deal with this, these are all human beings. It's easier though when you are working day-to-day on the ground. City authorities who always stay in their offices cannot possibly understand how people live here." (public institutional employee, no. 50)

c) Service delivery problems and constraints

While the majority (20 out of 26) report that service delivery is much more difficult in a multiethnic context and that this limits their ability and willingness to deal with cultural difference, six respondents feel that their job is facilitated in multiethnic areas.

"Service delivery is facilitated"

Respondents who feel that service delivery is easier in a multiethnic context (an urban planner, parks planner, building inspector, and two police officers) attribute this to four factors. First, there are many residents' groups and community-based organizations located in highly multiethnic areas that actively transmit local needs and concerns to these officials. These respondents say that they receive fewer ethno-specific requests because these have already been filtered by local organizations. The requests that they do receive are either for celebratory or symbolic features (religious and cultural festivals or monuments) or for commercial and institutional uses (Jewish or Islamic educational establishments, ethnic places of worship, old age homes for the Orthodox and Ultra Orthodox Jewish communities, ethnic stores). Second, high levels of cultural diversity are believed to create a greater climate of tolerance because the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) phenomenon is much less pronounced in multiethnic areas. This means that these respondents feel that uses and requests that might arouse controversy in other areas tend to be tolerated more in areas like Côte des Neiges.

> "I've never felt the "NIMBY" phenomenon in Côte des Neiges the way I've felt it in other *quartiers*, like Ahuntsic or Hochelaga-Maisonneuve."
> (municipal employee, no. 40)

Third, while multiethnicity may increase the amount of time it takes to meet with members of specific communities, these respondents say that they would do exactly the same thing in other areas because each neighbourhood has its own specific problems and interest groups. And fourth, they personally really enjoy working in a multiethnic context.

> "No, it doesn't take any more energy, in fact, I prefer this, these are more interesting situations, more complex. Maybe it requires a little more effort to understand these situations, but I find them more interesting."
> (municipal employee, no. 40)

Three of these respondents volunteered to work in Côte des Neiges (in some cases, they were the only ones in their department who wanted to).

> "I started out in Côte des Neiges when I joined because no one else wanted to work there due to the multiethnicity, the language problem, the type of housing problems. But those things don't bother me. It bothers the others, especially since they have to work in English 70% of the time. But I don't have any barriers. I don't have any negative feelings about people from other countries."
> (municipal employee, no. 51)

"Service delivery is more difficult"

Twenty respondents report that providing even essential services in multiethnic areas is more difficult than in culturally homogeneous areas due to problems of density and volume, communication, lack of sufficient resources, and lack of guidelines or precedent.

i) constraints due to density and volume

For municipal employees in this group, the immense territory of Côte des Neiges, the density of its built environment, and its large population pose significant service delivery problems. First of all, they are operating with the same budgets and resources as their colleagues in smaller or less dense neighbourhoods or districts. Second, they report that the volume of garbage or recycling material produced by residents, the number of apartment buildings requiring servicing, and the sheer number of people using local public spaces all affect the quality of services delivered. Third, the constant influx of new immigrants further complicates things. For example, garbage collection becomes even more arduous if new immigrants have no idea how the municipal garbage collection system works, or how and where they should be disposing of their garbage.

ii) communication difficulties

All respondents in this group say that they have difficulty communicating effectively with residents in multiethnic areas, which in turn affects their ability to operate. For many, this has to do with their linguistic ability. If these respondents are not conversant in English, or if residents understand neither English or French, then they have no way of letting residents know how and where to get information or assistance, and residents will not feel comfortable meeting with them. Communication styles between different groups are also problematic, especially for some

female respondents who are not used to dealing with very different world-views and problems, and who sometimes feel intimidated by men of certain ethnocultural origins.

> "Intercultural training doesn't help when you're faced with a person who can't speak the language well and who also doesn't seem to understand what the City can and can't do. [...] It's really time-consuming, and nobody seems to understand that I have to deal with them as quickly as possible. [...] And some men, the Indians and Russians are really bad, they hate talking with a woman." (municipal employee, no. 47)

iii) lack of resources

All respondents believe that working in a multiethnic neighbourhood requires more resources. Institutional downsizing has affected municipal actors in this group enormously. Several respondents located in Côte des Neiges said that the effectiveness of their service delivery has decreased substantially over the past fifteen years as a result.

> "I think we have a professional responsibility to seek out unexpressed needs. But do we have the resources to do it? Years ago we had more resources and we also had more of a focus on animating. Basically our front-line people now are administrative. They're overwhelmed." (municipal employee, no. 32)

Budget cuts and loss of personnel prevent many respondents from even considering cultural diversity, because they simply cannot afford to in terms of time and money.

> "There's always a certain distance between social trends and our response. This is expensive and heavy equipment. We also have to make sure that these aren't just passing fads, and that if we respond, that it'll respond to everyone's needs. It has to be worth devoting a large portion of our shrinking budget to. There are also needs that the City can't take on. That's what private spaces are for. The private sector can respond to these more specific needs. This allows us to adopt little solutions, but not larger ones." (municipal employee, no. 37)

While budget cuts are a problem for institutions across North America, many respondents say that it hits home much more in multiethnic areas because the social and spatial problems are more acute. Some municipal employees in this sample say that they need a 100% increase in resources in order to provide appropriate service delivery.

> "That requires resources. Not just financial resources, but people who know how to work in those types of situations. It takes special people to work with this clientele, special talent and attitude. And then you need to have the political will to back it up." (municipal employee, no. 32)

For example, lack of funding means that garbage trucks fill up too quickly and waste time going back and forth to the dump. It means that the day after the roving park crew cleans up a park, the parks are dirty again and stay dirty until the next crew passes by. It means that these actors do not have the time or personnel to do community outreach, which they do not consider to be an aspect of essential service provision in host society neighbourhoods.

High turnover rates among personnel mean that long-term memory is missing, which eight respondents believe is very important in a multiethnic neighbourhood where oral traditions and personal contacts are essential. In short, lack of sufficient resources means that many respondents cannot afford to spend time sorting through ethnocultural differences, since they have to devote their attention to making sure essential services are at least provided.

> "The City wants to find "quick fixes" for problems that are more insidious and that have many side-problems attached to them. It takes a lot of time and energy to get these people to even start opening up to you, and it's not easy to reach them. The City doesn't have the ability right now to deal with this type of context." (community group worker, no. 45)

iv) lack of guidelines or precedent

Although respondents in this group say that they have no choice but to deal with cultural diversity in their daily work, very few feel equipped to be making decisions on the validity of diverse uses or requests. Either they lack field experience or mediation training, or else the technical resources that might help them evaluate these issues in the absence of stated guidelines are missing. Without firm guidelines or any form of legal precedent, most say that they are simply going step-by-step, relying on the success or failure of past cases to help them make the best decision. They feel that they are not making any headway on finding real solutions to their service delivery problems, only finding temporary ways out of potentially sticky situations. Therefore, it makes more sense to stick to "the common good" rather than to try and wend their way through different and conflicting ethno-specific realities.

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In summary, receptiveness to cultural diversity in the decision-making and planning process depends almost entirely on factors that go well beyond personal inclination. Factors such as institutional mandate and internal guidelines, professional experience with multiethnic contexts, office location, and the resources and skills respondents have at their disposal (budgetary resources, technical aids, personnel, mediation skill) are the most influential. Professionally, those who work under conditions that favour inclusion tend to be more receptive to cultural diversity and to culturally diverse requests. On the other hand, since only a handful of actors actually have the resources and guidelines needed to help them make decisions in multiethnic contexts, the majority only react if they have to (in cases of conflict or controversy).

It can be concluded that for respondents with community-based organizations, the City of Montreal, and public institutions, comprehensive institutional support in the form of a cultural diversity mandate, practical guidelines, and sufficient resources is probably *the* best indicator of an actor's receptiveness to cultural difference. However, there are qualifications that need to be made here, since our findings show that most City of Montreal authorities participating in this study report that the City's strategic mandate (interculturalism approach) and set of guidelines (reasonable accommodation) on cultural diversity are not all that helpful. Either their department or division has not adopted these strategies internally, or else their department has not adapted them to its specific operational realities, in which case they find that the general recommendations of the reasonable accommodation management guidelines too vague to be useful in their daily practice. In the majority of cases, the exhortation to pursue a strategy of reasonable accommodation in their daily practice is useless if respondents' departments or divisions have not been granted the resources needed to implement decision-making and operations under multiethnic contexts properly. Therefore, the mere presence of a mandate and set of guidelines respecting the way that cultural diversity is to be treated by employees is not sufficient if mechanisms are not put in place to ensure that employees: 1. are obliged to follow these guidelines, 2. fully understand how decision-making is to take place under these guidelines, and 3. are supported by a comprehensive set of written guidelines or instructions that corroborate their decisions.

7.4.3 Local Knowledge and the Success of Planning Endeavours

Location emerged as a factor that helps determine respondents' willingness to consider or accommodate cultural difference in their actions or decision-making. First, the location of an actor's office exerts a certain degree of influence over his or her receptiveness to cultural diversity. And second, actors with field experience in multiethnic contexts tend to report being more sensitive to difference. The tug-of-war between proponents of the local and the central is a matter of debate in Canadian cities nowadays, on subjects ranging from forced municipal mergers to decentralization of administrative power and services (Séguin and Germain, 2000; Isin, 2000b; Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998).

Respondents do not agree on whether or not planning interventions and actions that affect residents directly should be conceived and implemented in collaboration with local residents and groups. One quarter (all with the City or public institutions) believes that 'professionals' are the only ones with the expertise and training needed to develop and implement planning or environmental improvement projects properly. Therefore, these respondents feel that they only need to consult with citizens or local stakeholders as a final step or as a last resort (for example, if they cannot obtain the information they need through formal surveys or statistical analysis). If the public reacts negatively to their plans during public consultations or else submits proof that their proposals are unacceptable, then they are willing to revise certain elements of their plan or program.

On the other hand, the majority (20 out of 26) believe that local-level collaboration is essential, especially for top-down projects in multiethnic neighbourhoods. They all cited examples of cases where a project or program failed in Côte des Neiges or in the Mountain Sights area because the advice of local actors was not asked or followed.

> "There are enormous discrepancies between programs conceived by the City and the needs of residents. They conceive of a project for all neighbourhoods across the city and then try to make the context here fit the project and get frustrated when it doesn't work." (community group worker, no. 42)

However, like residents in this study, none of these respondents feels that it is possible or even desirable for public authorities to collaborate with local groups on every project. While six respondents (five community group workers and one public institutional employee) believe that full collaboration is essential for every project or program, the rest said that top-down projects can work very well as long as they are tweaked to suit local needs through partial collaboration with local groups on matters that affect them. On the other hand, none of the study's respondents believe that even partial collaboration is possible right now due to lack of time and money in all sectors.

All respondents feel that the constraints posed by lack of resources and political will mean that local groups and residents have no choice but to take planning matters into their own hands. While 6 out of 12 municipal actors report that they depend on local groups to help them assess the "hidden" needs of immigrant areas, they are afraid that informal planning movements might clash with the existing legal and administrative framework, implying that a dual level of management needs to be formed. The horror of having to cede decision-making power to local groups or residents is very strong among these actors.

Thirteen respondents, including all community group workers, believe that residents' groups have no choice but to take planning matters into their own hands because the City is forced to action a request coming from a special interest group.

> "When residents take charge of things themselves and have a group that represents them, it's easier. Individual residents tend to refer lots of problems to us that aren't part of our mandate, but a residents' group usually means business. It helps us develop a strategy to arrive at a quality environment."
> (municipal employee, no. 39)

This is even more important in multiethnic, immigrant, or lower income areas, for these respondents believe that such areas are too easily ignored by the City.

7.4.4 Roles and Responsibilities

Respondents' perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of residents, community group workers, and public authorities in a multiethnic neighbourhood depend greatly on what sector they are working in. All respondents believe that residents have the responsibility of appropriating their neighbourhood and taking care of their local environment, although they differ on the extent of these responsibilities. While they all feel that residents should act as environmental caretakers (reporting broken park benches to the Parks Department, for example), the majority of municipal employees feel that residents should be banding together to take care of problems themselves (participating in Neighbourhood Watch programs or forming residents' groups). These groups can then serve as a bridge between residents and authorities.

> "Everyone has his role to play. I really want to see residents take charge of their milieu. I'll benefit from it, since I'll have less garbage to manage, less difficulty maintaining the streets in good condition. This will create a better living environment for everyone. I see that residents' groups are taking this responsibility on. That's good." (municipal employee, no. 39)

Most respondents with community-based organizations and public institutions disagree, arguing that this is merely a way for overburdened officials with the City of Montreal to dump their responsibilities on residents, who do not have the time or experience to take on such duties.

> "Locals don't always have knowledge. I know this might get some people upset, but it's what I've come to notice. And I'm on their side, it's not that. It's that they don't always see the consequences of what they're asking, or what's involved in actually getting it. [...] If the City was doing its job, it wouldn't even be an issue. They should make an effort to find out what people need here, but not make residents responsible for managing what's really the City's responsibility." (community group worker, no. 27)

These respondents all said that municipal authorities are not holding up their side of the bargain. Municipal actors do not dispute this point, however. Most feel that their operating budgets have been so clawed back that they are only able to do the bare minimum. Like it or not, residents' associations and community-based organizations are forced to take up the slack. However, none of the community group workers in this sample feel that municipal authorities give them the

necessary funding and political weight to be the City's "partners", considering what the City expects from this volunteer sector.

In short, respondents all believe that residents' groups and community-based organizations are a necessary part of the *formal* planning process since they transmit local needs to authorities and can take over management of certain public space projects if required, as long as they are funded properly. However, the extent to which these groups are equal partners or are accepted as being "planners" is definitely debatable.

7.4.5 Representativity

If residents' groups play such an important role in the planning process in multiethnic areas, it is also important to note that none of the respondents in this sample believes that residents' groups, such as the Mountain Sights Residents' Association, are truly representative of diverse groups and interests in these areas. However, like most of the residents interviewed, they all believe that these groups are *representative enough.*

> "The group speaks only for people who are members of the group and who agree with what the group says. So who do they speak for? They speak for themselves and the people who agree with them. What's their political accountability? They're accountable to their members. But it's still a forum that we can work with." (municipal employee, no. 32)

> "Is the Mountain Sights group representative of people on the street? It's representative of a section of residents, the Sri Lankans and several Blacks. They don't represent the HLM, the people on the other side of the park, the local businesses. But we still take their demands as being representative of everybody. If they told me there is not a cleanliness problem there, then I would question it. So it may be a small less-representative committee, but the results benefit everyone." (municipal employee, no. 43)

Due to problems of democratic functioning, transparency, openness, and transmission of information, however, two thirds said that residents' associations are not necessarily representative of diverse ethnoculturally-based preferences and concerns in a multiethnic context, although they may be in a mono-ethnic context. In other words, the filter effect that many actors praised beforehand also dampens information on the needs and wants of different ethnocultural groups that these actors would like to have available.

7.4.6 Dealing with Diversity on the Ground

Making decisions on public space and actually dealing with cultural diversity on the ground is not necessarily the same thing. After discussing decision-making, respondents were asked to describe how they respond in practice – how tolerant they are in multiethnic areas, what standards they apply, and how this compares to their practices in other parts of the city. These findings are important, because in many cases their attitudes are very similar to those of one particular group of residents – Canadian-born residents and very long-term immigrants. Tolerance and "turning a blind eye" are very common responses. In fact, like these particular residents, the majority of community group workers and public authorities have very different ideas of what immigrants want to see applied and tolerated in public space than these immigrants might have. It is also interesting to note that the division between 'culturally neutral' and 'over-ethnicizing' perceptions that cropped up in the previous section appears once again in terms of standards.

a) Applying standards in multiethnic areas

Twenty three out of 26 respondents said that municipal and public institutional authorities apply lower standards in Côte des Neiges than in other parts of the city. On the other hand, the remaining three respondents (all working in the housing sector) said that the same low standards are being applied everywhere in Montreal.

> "I don't think the City is more or less tolerant here in Côte des Neiges than elsewhere, I think it's across the city. The fiftieth time you get an *avis de contravention*, do you think you'll take it seriously? This problem occurs in all domains. They don't apply the by-laws anywhere."
> (community group worker, no. 52)

Respondents with community-based organizations and public institutions (with the exception of police officers) all believe that municipal authorities overlook issues that they feel are dangerous, such as building safety, garbage collection, broken equipment in the park, and disruptive behaviour, but punish residents for things that are not their fault (parking tickets in areas where parking is limited, for example). Municipal authorities in this study do not dispute this assessment. Only respondents with the police force said that they can take immediate steps to

control a dangerous situation. Municipal authorities feel that their hands are often tied. Either by-laws have no teeth, or else they have difficulty getting permission to take action from higher authorities (their budget requests are denied or this is not something that their department can handle alone since it requires long-term comprehensive intervention).

On the other hand, everyone admitted that they overlook things that might be a question of immigrant integration. For example, the police will not say anything to the older man openly drinking a beer in De La Savane Park on a hot summer day. Nor will they make the Sri Lankan woman remove the saris she is drying on the park fence. But they will enforce by-laws prohibiting such actions in parks in the Town of Mount Royal. They all feel very strongly that dishing out fines and "punishment" is not the way to go in an immigrant area. In their opinion, residents probably cannot afford to pay a fine, and it is not fair to fine a new immigrant who does not understand what codes have been broken.

> "We could have been very repressive and given out fines but this is not the tack we want to take. We would rather go and speak with them, because it's usually just because they don't understand the situation. It's not by being strict and authoritative that we'll reach our goals, on the contrary."
> (municipal employee, no. 39)

There are limits, however. For example, while respondents will turn a blind eye to an informal mosque that has elicited no complaints, some will take action pretty fast if this mosque starts broadcasting calls to prayer over a loudspeaker. However, the solution will most likely take the form of soft negotiation before it becomes punitive.

> "Having a *mussallah* shouldn't be a problem if they have good communication with other residents. If there's a problem with it, then you need to have a different approach, because coming down too hard makes them feel like they can't practice their religion. But you could bring in an *imam* who would have moral authority and who could tell them that it's against the by-law."
> (community group worker, no. 34)

In fact, "turning a blind eye" is a very common reaction on the part of municipal authorities in our sample, simply because they feel that they are not equipped to deal with different and/or irregular culturally-based uses.

> "I think City authorities have no choice but to be more tolerant in Côte des Neiges. If you start visiting buildings and you see all sorts of anomalies, you have to follow-up constantly. Do you really want to get involved in this? Often it's a big can of worms and then you'll be stuck dealing with it. [...] Often we just don't "see it". We close our eyes, a lot of Services here do that. We aren't more lax, we just accept differences more." (municipal employee, no. 43)

All respondents feel that authorities should be very tolerant of practices that reflect people's daily life in a multiethnic or immigrant area, as long as these practices do not cause undue hardship to other residents. In fact, everyone who works regularly in Côte des Neiges said that they were more strict when they began working there but that their tolerance levels have grown over the years.

> "In the beginning I was fairly strict, but over time I've grown less so. You see so many things in this area, and you see that some things you can let go, but other things you have to react to. It comes with experience. Once you deal with really serious things, other things aren't so serious. I've learned what to react to and what to walk away from. The only things we don't tolerate are things that affect public or personal safety." (municipal employee, no. 51)

However, these attitudes bear qualification, since all municipal authorities and several public institutional actors said that they also act the same way in host society areas. The difference is that these respondents believe that the social pressure to conform is greater in host society areas because irregular uses stand out more, and because residents there are more likely to tell the 'offender' that he is doing something that bothers them or to complain to authorities.

> "People come here and they don't know anyone. People have no hold on their milieu, so they watch what others are doing and think that everybody does this. In a different area, people will take the time to tell their neighbours they can't do that." (municipal employee, no. 39)

b) Standardizing 'irregular' uses

Respondents are divided on whether or not the same standards, norms, and 'codes' should exist across Montreal. The same separation between those who believe that irregular uses in a multiethnic area have little to do with cultural difference (the culturally neutral group) and those who attribute all irregular uses to culture (the over-ethnicizing group) exists here as it did in the section on public space use.

One group of 14 (from all different sectors) believes that the same standards and norms should prevail across Montreal, and the other group of 12 believes that standards or norms should be more flexible in multiethnic or immigrant neighbourhoods. For respondents in the first group, irregular uses are not really culturally-based at all. They only appear that way because of the ethnicity of the person carrying them out. Therefore, it is not fair that offenders in multiethnic neighbourhoods get off scot-free "because they are immigrants" while those in more homogeneous neighbourhoods are punished and hopefully begin to conform. In addition, municipal actors in this group are also afraid that giving in to ethno-specific requests in one neighbourhood will lead to an increase in similar demands across the city. The idea of treating all neighbourhoods equally in terms of standards is very important for these respondents.

> "There's a common ground or standard that we have to make sure is respected so as not to create injustice between neighbourhoods. The park in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve should not be equipped any differently than the park in Côte des Neiges." (community group worker, no. 34)

Respondents in the second group feel that irregular uses in multiethnic areas are usually ethno-specific but will self-regulate as immigrants become more integrated. The problem facing these respondents is that current standards and norms are difficult enough to enforce in host society areas, and are even more so in multiethnic areas. Municipal actors in this group said that quite a few of the decisions that they make regarding public space in multiethnic areas are not accounted for in policy or law. In addition, many also said that while they have an innate idea of what public space is supposed to look like in host society areas, they have no such reference point for multiethnic or immigrant areas. First of all, public spaces in these areas were not designed with

the needs of an ethnoculturally diverse population in mind, and second, these respondents are not even sure what the host society's standards and norms are anymore.

> "Everybody from Western and European points of view presumes that there are basic civic behaviours in public space about what you do and don't do, how you use the space, how you approach other people. I think we need to ask what are the basics that apply to everybody now, because what's happening in our parks is new to all of us." (municipal employee, no. 32)

These respondents feel that it makes more sense to concentrate on the most important things in a multiethnic neighbourhood and to let more irregular things go.

> "We shouldn't have different standards or guidelines for this area, that would be racism, to say oh, they're not that clean, we need to tolerate it. The City must maintain its standards. But I think we also have to keep in mind that there's only one City inspector for this area, and it's very difficult to maintain these standards. Stuff like people who dry their clothes in the park, I have no problem with it. Does anyone really have a big problem with little stuff like that? Does it really matter?" (public institutional employee, no. 31)

In short, no one feels that the existing framework under which decisions affecting public space are made is reflective of current social reality. As a result, the decisions that they are taking on public space issues across the board are not necessarily suitable to current urban realities in any Montreal neighbourhood.

7.4.7 The Feasibility of "Doing" Planning in Multiethnic Neighbourhoods

Respondents all believe that it is entirely possible to do planning in multiethnic contexts in an inclusive way, even those who are not inclusionist in philosophy or practice. In fact, all ten respondents with professional planning training (urban planning, building technology, landscape architecture, facilities and site management, community development) feel that planning for multiple publics is the cornerstone of any planning effort. This does not mean that multiple publics are multiethnic publics, only that there is always a diversity of needs and stakeholders to account for during any planning action.

a) Sketching out a planning process for multiethnic contexts

Based on respondents' suggestions for helping the existing municipal planning framework operate better in multiethnic contexts, the broad outlines of a more inclusive planning practice emerge. In essence, respondents' ideas resemble those of many residents very closely. All those who commented on this (only two could not think of any possible solutions) feel that a more culturally inclusive framework should include some or all of the following components: mechanisms for dealing with social complexity, attention to local dynamics, clear guidelines, and collaborative planning approaches.

Develop mechanisms for dealing with complexity

Almost all respondents said that their modes of operation in multiethnic contexts are either different, or else they should be. These modes of operation form a tool-kit for working in culturally diverse contexts. This tool-kit includes: outreach, tools to help make decisions among different and competing demands, additional funding, and flexible work methods.

> "The municipal approach is very linear. They go from point A to point B. When you work with ethnic or multiethnic groups, you have to have a more serpentine approach, sometimes going right in order to eventually go left. But if you try to go from A to B just like that, you'll never get there. There's a lot of game-playing involved." (municipal employee, no. 43)

Achieving the same results in a multiethnic neighbourhood as in a host society one requires additional resources and adapted operational methods because the social integration of new immigrants must be addressed. In addition, working in multiethnic contexts is considered to require more effort and finesse. Therefore, respondents feel that actors and managers in multiethnic contexts should be given the freedom to adapt interventions and methods of operation as they see fit.

> "Everyone doesn't fit into the same mold. It's easier to fix a garbage problem in Rivière des Prairies with its large well-kept spaces than in Mountain Sights or Walkley. So I would create the same intervention plans, but the way I implemented them in every neighbourhood would be different. The City wants to do programs and interventions very fast, in one mold, and have them wrap up by a certain deadline. You can't work to those rules and deadlines in these areas." (public institutional employee, no. 46)

Pay greater attention to local dynamics

Twenty four out of 26 respondents said that planning for multiethnic publics requires greater attention to local dynamics. First of all, they feel that multiethnic neighbourhoods receive the bulk of new arrivals, whose interactions with the physical environment are often rooted in very different practices and social dynamics. In addition, dynamics between groups and interests in a multiethnic area are considered to be more complex than in more homogeneous areas. Two thirds of locally situated respondents point out that this complexity is not easily understood by someone working on the outside, and is not easily translated by someone on the inside.

On top of this, the majority of respondents believe that top-down planning efforts are not always well suited to local needs and social dynamics in a multiethnic context, while bottom-up efforts are exhausting and confrontational, and usually only result in band-aid solutions. Therefore, 12 respondents feel that any 'new' way of doing planning should confer greater decision-making power on local bodies and increase the political weight of local voices in planning and program efforts.

Overhaul the existing framework through the use of guidelines

Municipal actors all feel that the entire municipal policy and procedural framework needs to be overhauled, and detailed guidelines for departmental decision-making, planning, and management in culturally diverse contexts put together. Six municipal respondents noted that in earlier decades, the assumption was that municipal decision-makers could make the right decision by relying on existing by-laws, the past procedures of their department, and their own innate knowledge of what was socially acceptable in public space and what was deviant. The need for City-wide policies and guidelines in certain situations was not so evident. However, they feel that there are so many different interest groups all jostling for attention (some examples that were cited include women's safety groups, Gay Rights groups, groups in favour of creating "Red Light" zones and those opposed, dog-owners associations, skateboarding clubs, etc.) that dealing with multiple publics is now the norm, not the exception. Therefore, these guidelines need to address social diversity in general, not just ethnocultural diversity.

Based on the suggestions of municipal authorities, these new departmental guidelines should demonstrate:

1. Which types of requests take precedence over others.
2. How to juggle equally valid but competing requests or uses.
3. How to resolve inter-group or inter-use conflict.
4. How to evaluate public space needs in multiethnic neighbourhoods, both reactively and proactively.
5. How and when to tweak service delivery and planning action to local realities.
6. How to design spaces that take diverse uses and needs into account while recognizing that these designs will endure for another twenty or thirty years. As one respondent relates:

> "We need to design spaces that are multi-purpose, knowing that people will appropriate them in different ways in different areas. We're conscious of this reality. An Asian community needs green space with lots of vegetation to practice tai chi, but when they aren't there, another community arrives to have a picnic. So the same space must be designed to serve different people."
> (municipal employee, no. 36)

7. How to develop mechanisms for collaborating with non-institutional actors (residents, community group workers, local business owners, etc.) in order to ensure the continued viability of local public spaces and environments. According to 14 respondents, the main problem with multiethnic contexts is that they are mutable (transit zones for new immigrants, immigrant waves that change every five years or so). They feel that ensuring the continued viability of public spaces over time is important since these spaces will continue to exist long after many residents have moved elsewhere. Public space must then be able to withstand or accommodate change.

> "It's hard to plan for only one community, because these communities don't stay forever in the neighbourhood. If we concentrate too much on specificities, we risk alienating other present and future users. Since Côte des Neiges is multiethnic, the question will always arise – how do we plan for everyone? I don't have the answer. If we can't have guidelines for planning in multiethnic areas, we need procedures that will help us find out what people need and would like to see in their public spaces." (municipal employee, no. 37)

Emphasize collaborative approaches

Fifteen respondents (in all sectors) said that an approach based on elements similar to those used in sustainable community development needs to be adopted or inserted into the repertoire of municipal planning approaches. Integrated, multi-level interventionist, and micro-zone approaches are very common in the social work and public health fields, and are used when the goal is sustainable community development. This group of respondents considers that these types of approaches are very important because certain public space problems in multiethnic areas (and in many host society areas as well) are not planning problems, but social problems.

> "As planners we do what we can, but the problems are often problems of society, not planning problems. It's too bad, but often people have the impression that changing the physical design of a space will correct the situation, and it's not necessarily the case. It's a reality that's very difficult to manage."
> (municipal employee, no. 36)

In their opinion, addressing these problems in public space requires the collaboration of a range of different actors.

> "We need to have all the possible intervention tools at our disposal, for these are often planning problems that are too large for one group or organization to deal with on their own. In these cases, like in Mountain Sights, the City needs to work in partnership with other groups and residents to make sure that all the angles are covered." (public institutional employee, no. 38)

The main elements of these sustainable community development approaches mentioned by respondents are: identifying needs and priorities, identifying stakeholders, finding out who is willing to collaborate, finding sources of funding, and developing sustainable programs with the input of all collaborators. The smaller the territory involved, the more relevant the results will be, hence the reference to 'micro-zones'.

The sustainable community development approach finds its echo in the task force approach suggested by some respondents, all of whom were involved in the task forces set up to deal with problems on Walkley, Barclay, and Mountain Sights in the late 1980's and early 1990's.

> "We really need a comprehensive Master Plan for Mountain Sights, that says where we should intervene, what the priorities are, and what our long-term and short-term objectives are. These things cannot be the sole responsibility of one residents' association working occasionally with the City, it's not enough. Everybody needs to work together. Physical, economic, and social objectives all go together, and one will lead to the other. They're all linked."
> (community group worker, no. 34)

> "Even if we have differences, we still need to find a common ground. It's the only way we can make an action work. Everyone has to be in on it. To fix the garbage problem, we need to have huge meetings with all the residents, building owners, janitors, and people from the City, and adopt an action plan."
> (community group worker, no. 52)

However, nine respondents in this group feel that since problems are so complex in multiethnic areas, it makes more sense to adopt a piecemeal approach rather than a more ambitious sustainable community development approach. This means trying to fix the "thousand small problems" instead of trying to revamp an entire process or environment.

> "The neighbourhood is very poor and the problems are very large. I don't know if these larger problems can ever be fixed to everyone's satisfaction. But there are a few minor smaller problems that can certainly be fixed in the short term to make the place a little better. But they cross departmental and organizational lines, so people have to start consolidating their actions there."
> (public institutional actor, no. 48)

Twenty two out of 26 respondents said that negotiation and consensus-building are the only ways to mediate between divergent viewpoints and to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement in multiethnic contexts. This means finding ways of communicating across language and cultural barriers (including professional and local cultures). It also means finding ways of resolving conflicts. One respondent noted that the tools of conflict resolution used in crisis situations (violence, criminal activities, hostage negotiation, gang warfare, escalating inter-group conflict) can be easily applied on a smaller scale in multiethnic areas.

b) Transferability to other contexts

Like residents interviewed for this study, all respondents believe that these 'new' methods of operation are transferable to other multiethnic contexts, such as schools and facilities (health care, recreational, etc.). Almost all (23) feel that they are also viable in lower income neighbourhoods where similar social or spatial problems exist (lack of social integration, diversity of needs, dense housing tissue) and where local populations are not that easy to reach.

> "I can tell you about meetings with people in underprivileged areas who come from Nova Scotia and the Gaspé. We can sit down and explain these things to them and they won't have a clue what to do because it sounds like it's too complicated or uninteresting, but it's exactly what they wanted. Just add the complexity of people who aren't always fluent in English or French, and it's clear that you need to adopt the same methods in each case."
> (municipal employee, no. 32)

However, unlike residents, two thirds feel that these "new" methods of operation should be adopted in all neighbourhoods and in all contexts (from real estate development controversies to public consultation proceedings). Because the actors and dynamics will be different, the methods chosen might have to be different as well, although the overall approach would remain the same.

These solutions proposed by respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors build on those proposed by residents. All in all, these solutions amount to a standardized management skeleton fleshed in with flexible and collaborative planning practices at the local level. The emphasis placed on local voices in the planning process by our respondents brings us to another theoretical realm altogether, one that is especially significant for all city dwellers - democracy. This is the end-point for almost all 52 of our respondents. Fairness and justice for everyone emerged as being more important than the need to accommodate particular ethno-specific demands. In this line of thinking, if all individuals and neighbourhoods are treated equally without preconceived perceptions, then the need to juggle ethno-specific concerns or demands with notions of the common public interest will no longer exist.

CHAPTER 8: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Interview findings for our two respondent categories (residents and community group workers/public authorities) were presented in the previous two chapters. This comparative analysis will highlight the similarities and differences between respondents' visions and perceptions. At the end of this chapter, we will discuss the relevance of our findings for planning and municipal practice. Our discussion will follow roughly the same format as the previous two chapters, in order to allow the reader to refer back to the relevant sections in each chapter if desired. We will begin with public space concerns and problems before moving on to perceptions of the local planning process and the ability of the 'formal' municipal planning and management framework to deal with cultural diversity. After discussing possible solutions for rendering planning and management procedures more inclusive in general, we will conclude this chapter by exploring the relevance of our study's findings for planning and municipal management.

8.1 PUBLIC SPACE PLANNING CONCERNS AND PROBLEMS IN MULTIETHNIC AREAS

Many authors have questioned the ability of planners in North American cities to create public spaces that respond satisfactorily to the concerns of different ethnocultural groups (Martin, 2000; Richardson, 2001; Smith, 2000; James, 2000; Newell, 1997). For this reason, we wanted to find out how public space concerns and expectations are expressed and addressed in a multiethnic neighbourhood, in order determine how these concerns are being dealt with during the local and municipal planning processes.

Respondents are somewhat ambivalent with respect to the extent to which they believe that 'culture' and 'ethnicity' have decisive roles to play in the way that public spaces are used and perceived in a multiethnic neighbourhood. Despite this, respondents all agree on the actual roles attributed to public space and the uses made of public space in this context.

8.1.1 Public Spaces in a Multiethnic Neighbourhood Mean Different Things

The main observation to emerge from analysis of our interview findings is that all respondents believe that public spaces in multiethnic neighbourhoods such as Mountain Sights have characteristics that set them apart from spaces in host society neighbourhoods. However, respondents do not necessarily perceive these characteristics in the same way. Residents all believe that the overall characteristics of local public space result from the intersection of the practices and perceptions of individuals of diverse ethnocultural origins. On the other hand, community group workers and public authorities can be divided into two groups: one attributes these characteristics to the 'exotic immigrant nature' of the neighbourhood, and the other believes that these different characteristics are not ethnoculturally-based at all since they are also found in other types of neighbourhoods across Montreal.

Respondents do agree that public spaces in a multiethnic neighbourhood such as Mountain Sights can have the following specific characteristics. They can be: sociability spaces, socialization spaces, backyard spaces, gendered spaces, and ethnocultural spaces. Public spaces are sociability spaces because they are highly used as informal gathering and meeting spaces (group picnics, parties, recreational activities, 'hanging out'). Most respondents attribute this sociability function to the increasing number of South Asian immigrants in the neighbourhood, although a few believe that this function has nothing to do with South Asian groups at all since it is also found in other neighbourhoods in Montreal (with the exception of French Canadian ones).

All respondents agree that local public spaces have a certain socialization function for new immigrants, although they disagree on the extent of this function. Residents and community group workers believe that local public spaces help in the integration and settlement process because they provide new immigrants with the opportunity to observe how very different groups use space and interact in space. Most public authorities disagree, reporting that the absence of members of the 'host society' in local spaces hinders integration. The problem with this latter assessment is that it is wrong. French and English Canadians are considered to be fairly present in local public spaces by residents and community group workers, especially in De La Savane Park (local employees from nearby companies, an organized softball league, volunteers from the SPCA, etc.).

Almost all respondents also agree that local spaces are 'different' because of the backyard function that they assume. One group of respondents believes that this function is found only in Mountain Sights and derives from the replication of spatial practices in residents' countries of origin (West Indian backyards and porches, the South Asian courtyard, etc.). This characteristic is considered to have both positive and negative outcomes – positive because residents like, and need, to have these sorts of 'backyard' spaces, but negative in that many respondents feel that the uses made of these spaces are backward or 'exotic'. On the other hand, a second group believes that this feature is not specific to multiethnic neighbourhoods at all, since it is also found in lower income contexts in general.

The gendered nature of public spaces in Mountain Sights was noted by South Asian residents and a handful of local actors. Others perceive, or wish to perceive, these spaces as being gender-neutral even if they realize that South Asian men and women often try to maintain a separation between the sexes in space, mainly because these respondents do not feel that this type of separation is normal or healthy. In fact, respondents quite naturally often attempt to impose their own visions on public space, even when other competing visions are known.

Local public spaces become ethnoculturally-specific spaces when immigrants' visions of public space in Mountain Sights concord with the visions that they held in their home countries. Community group workers and public authorities are divided on the extent to which they believe that this is true. All respondents in this study tend to endow or compare spaces in Mountain Sights with their own culturally-based perception of space (be this French Canadian, West Indian, or something else). One point of interest that emerged from this study is that long-term residents and community group workers/public authorities who have been working in Côte des Neiges for a long time report that their perceptions have changed with exposure to other visions and ways of doing. Long-term immigrants say that their conceptions have become closer to what they call "Canadian" or "Québécois" perceptions of public space, while community group workers and public authorities report that their conceptions have become closer to those of the different ethnocultural groups in the area. This means that the integration process works in both directions. However, just because these individuals report that their conceptions of public space have mutated over time does not mean that they all hold the same conception.

As AlSayyad (2001: 16) remarks:

> "The idea that space shapes and is shaped by social processes is neither a new phenomenon nor a practice in need of justification. [...] However, hybrid people do not always create hybrid places, and hybrid places do not always accommodate hybrid people."

And lastly, the majority of respondents referred to what they call the commonly-shared "immigrant culture" or "Third World culture" of Mountain Sights. For the majority of community group workers/public authorities and over half of residents, these designations have a somewhat negative connotation, since they denote what respondents feel are backward uses or visions of local public spaces. However, they all use these terms to refer to the common elements of different cultures in a multiethnic area that come together to form a larger collectively-shared culture. This is similar in some ways to Bhabha's (1990a) idea of the 'third space'.

It is important to note that respondents agree that the characteristics discussed above are particular to public spaces in a multiethnic neighbourhood (at least for many of the ethnic groups that inhabit it), and that these characteristics are somewhat different from those that are considered to exist in a host society neighbourhood. This corroborates Di Genova's (2001) findings on the differences between public parks in multiethnic and host society neighbourhoods in Montreal. As well, it shows that within a culturally diverse context, public spaces can have collectively-shared, or at least collectively-acknowledged, meanings and uses. This renders the task of making appropriate decisions on these spaces somewhat easier, regardless of whether or not actors believe that these characteristics derive from inhabitants' ethnocultural origins or customs.

8.1.2 Spaces are Usually Peacefully Shared

Our interview findings all show that neighbourhood spaces in Mountain Sights are generally peacefully shared between groups. This peace is maintained in different ways. Either a certain distance is kept between individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups, use patterns between different groups coincide, or else peaceful sharing occurs because the context allows for brief and casual interaction between individuals of different groups in passing. This concords with the findings of other researchers on interethnic coexistence in multiethnic neighbourhoods in Montreal (Blanc, 1995; Dansereau, 1995; Germain *et al*, 1995).

Small-size spaces that are programmed to receive many different users and uses at once, such as the community garden or children's playground, are considered by all to be spaces where inter-ethnic interaction takes place the most. Those that are 'single-use' spaces (laundry rooms, basketball court) tend to be territorialized by individuals belonging to specific ethnic groups who prevent others from using or entering the space. Peaceful sharing of space is most likely to occur when the use patterns of very different groups coincide. For example, picnicking in the northern section of the park is a practice followed by most ethnic groups in the neighbourhood, and this part of the park is considered to be peacefully shared for this activity. However, it is not peacefully shared between groups of picnickers and informal sports leagues. In addition, several public authorities noted that these types of group picnics are more likely to cause conflict between ethnic groups in a host society neighbourhood, where residents may not be accustomed to large day-long picnics.

Minor conflict is therefore more likely to arise when use patterns do not coincide. This happens when an activity common to one group detracts from the ability of individuals of another group to make use of the space as they would like. The limited number of spaces available is often considered to be the cause. For example, a group of Pakistani men who have organized a cricket match in the park will naturally be upset when they arrive with all their guests and find another group already using that area. The diversity of groups all jostling for use of the same space can thus cause problems when their activities overlap in time and space. Outright conflict is not the norm. Conflict that does occur is what might be called "low-level conflict" between individuals or groups (Bollens, 1996). However, residents feel that inter-personal conflict has more of a

cultural basis than do the majority of community group workers and public authorities. The latter respondents tend to feel that these types of conflicts are merely conflicts between individuals that could occur in any neighbourhood, whereas residents usually believe that there are often cultural biases and misunderstandings at work (one example that was given involved the fact that some Indians, Sri Lankans, and Pakistanis simply do not like one another due to their countries' historical hostilities).

8.1.3 Debating Public Space Preferences in a Multiethnic Neighbourhood

Our study findings demonstrate that individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups can have specific preferences and concerns in public space that are not necessarily expressed in daily action or use. Residents all remarked on the fact that there are many things that they would like to be able to do in local spaces but cannot, due to factors that range from social pressures in their own ethnic community to the practices made by others. On the contrary, only a handful of community group workers and public authorities have any inkling that these latent desires exist, and when they do, most brush them off as being inessential, unnecessary, or unfounded. In light of this, two groups emerge among respondents with respect to the importance they attribute to culturally-based preferences. The first group comprises three-quarters of residents and one quarter of community group workers and public authorities. This group believes that culturally-based preferences have a fundamental logic in themselves, and therefore should have validity in the planning process. The second group comprises three-quarters of community group workers and public authorities and one quarter of residents (there is no correlation here with length of residency in Canada). This group feels that culturally-based preferences are private and mutable. Because they will change as immigrants become integrated, they do not have much validity in the planning or design process unless a group can demonstrate their relevance.

It is interesting to note that almost all residents interviewed for this study are aware that their preferences are not shared by members of the wider society, and they are unwilling to express these desires to 'higher bodies' for this reason. As might be expected, only three respondents in the non-profit or public service sectors report having received any type of ethno-specific request from residents of Mountain Sights. Most community group workers and public authorities have thus concluded that "different" needs and wants are not all that important for local residents. On the other hand, even when they are aware that these preferences exist, they are not inclined to act

on them, mainly because most believe that formally accepting them might mean backtracking to cultural traditions that "Canadian society has left behind". As Levi-Strauss (1985: 24) suggests:

> "All true creation implies a certain deafness to the appeal of other values, even going so far as to reject them if not denying them altogether. For one cannot fully enjoy the other, identify with him, and yet at the same time remain different. When integral communication with the other is achieved completely, it sooner or later spells doom for both his and my creativity."

The examples that best illustrate this debate involve zoning and women's safety issues in public space.

Zoning and the separation of uses

Residents often expressed a desire for combining residential and commercial purposes under one roof (cottage industries, for example), a feature that the majority of respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors oppose. North American planning systems are based on the separation of 'incompatible' uses through zoning regulation. The reason for this is well known – reduction of nuisance. Indeed, one of the fundamental philosophies guiding planning over the past forty years has been the separation of industrial, commercial, and residential uses (Hodge, 1998). However, some North American cities (such as Tucson, AZ) do not have zoning regulations, preferring to leave development in the hands of the "natural laws of competition". On the other hand, many cities worldwide have regulatory frameworks that often derive from North American or European models (AlSayyad and Bristol, 1992). These regulations are not always easily enforced, however, and the coexistence of residential and commercial uses is often found, except in more well-to-do communities (AlSayyad and Bristol, 1992). This coexistence of different uses was a feature of life in North American cities until the gradual adoption of zoning regulations around the turn of the century (Hodge, 1998). Therefore, our findings show that a fundamental conflict exists between two very different ways of thinking about the compatibility of residential and commercial uses among actors involved in planning endeavours in our case study site.

Women's safety issues

Our study findings show that there is a distinct cultural basis underlying the perception of women's safety issues, a feature that causes divisiveness among respondents. The overwhelming majority of female residents of South Asian origin report feeling unsafe in most public spaces. They would prefer to have a greater selection of female-only spaces in the neighbourhood in order to mitigate male harassment and to allow them to enjoy the positive aspects of the separation of the sexes in public. This raised considerable hackles among certain respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors, particularly among French Canadian males. These respondents do not want to acknowledge these desires, since once again this might mean sliding backward into a type of gender separation in public space that formerly existed in Canadian or Québécois society (for example, women-only swim times, women-only cinema nights, separate school yards for boys and girls). Other respondents have no strong feelings regarding this, and said that they are willing to accommodate these preferences or to envision them in public space to some degree if at all possible.

The issue therefore reduces to opposing visions of male-female interactions in public space and to different conceptions of how women's safety may be ensured. For South Asian respondents, this issue is a fundamental part of life in their home countries and they feel that it can be integrated into local public space with little difficulty. This perspective is supported by Joardar (1989), who examined neighbourhood parks in Calcutta, India. He found that neighbourhood parks that are based on a British colonial rectilinear form with large open spaces are avoided by women. However, parks in which 50% of users are women and children all have built-in privacy features – visual screens, hedges, or mini enclosed 'parks within a park'. These types of features go against Euro-American notions of safety, which usually equate safety with visibility and openness (Wekerle, 2000). On the other hand, Germeraad (1993) points out that women in many Middle Eastern, North African, and South Asian countries will not feel safe or even be safe in this type of environment, since the danger of sexual assault and harassment is more prevalent in open spaces than in enclosed female-only spaces. This example is interesting because the physical separation of the sexes has been recently proposed as an innovative way in Montreal to deal with certain social problems. For example, experimental separate classrooms for boys and

girls in Montreal's John Rennie High School has decreased drop-out rates and raised students' grades considerably (Editorial, *The Gazette*, July 6, 2003).

These two examples challenge several fundamental notions in North American planning thought, namely the strict separation of uses deemed to be incompatible through zoning and the means of ensuring women's safety in public. If all inhabitants and workers in a given neighbourhood accept that these notions are valid, then there is no debate. However, if a given section of the local population holds very different ideas about the compatibility of uses and women's safety issues, then planners and municipal managers will need to generate solutions that satisfy the beliefs of all groups in a way that does not comprise any of their notions. As we will see further on, this is not as complicated as it sounds.

8.1.4 Appropriating and Accessing Space

Our findings show that appropriation and access consist of two elements: the ability of residents to access and appropriate local public spaces, and the way that spaces are appropriated to ends for which they were not originally programmed. While residents are very concerned about being able to appropriate public spaces as they would like, this is not all that important for most community group workers and public authorities. They are fully aware that certain groups or individuals may have difficulty "entering and being in space", but they do not believe that public spaces should be reconstructed in order to ensure access or appropriation by minority groups (other than certain targeted groups, such as women and the handicapped). Either they do not have the resources needed to find out which groups might require certain interventions or else they assume that these are very small groups in comparison with the population at large.

To a certain extent, they are justified in their opinion, although not for these reasons. Our findings show that there are two other reasons why residents feel unable to appropriate or access space as they desire. First, the majority of respondents report that the problem stems from lack of available space, rather than from culturally-based habits or practices. And second, residents also report that although they can freely enter different public spaces, they do not want to remain there because they feel uncomfortable in the presence of certain individuals or groups. This was also a sentiment reported by quite a few community group workers, especially women. Personal representations of others then seem to matter more than cultural differences. For example,

residents who are Canadian-born or who are immigrants from the West Indies and Haiti feel pushed out of public space by newer groups. On the other hand, residents belonging to these newer groups also feel the same way regarding West Indians and Haitians. Since most respondents also agree that certain groups are absent from public space (the elderly, established immigrant groups, East Asian groups), it might be postulated that their absence occurs for similar reasons.

Therefore, perceptions of "us versus them", or of insiders and outsiders, play a large role in determining an individual's ability to appropriate space in the neighbourhood of Mountain Sights. It should also be borne in mind that individuals belonging to many of the 'absent' groups might feel uncomfortable in public space for completely different reasons, such as unsuitable design features (this was a main reason why the elderly in Teo's 1997 study avoided certain public spaces). These findings are important because respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors are divided on whether or not De La Savane Park responds to residents' needs (half feel that it does not respond to anyone's needs, while the other half feel that it does). These conflicting perceptions can have a significant impact on public spaces in multiethnic areas if residents and outside actors cannot agree on who can and cannot appropriate space, and why.

8.1.5 Layering in Public Space

Almost all respondents who are familiar with public spaces in Mountain Sights agree that these spaces are characterized by the superimposition of meanings and activities over a single space. The mutability and intersection of different world-views in public spaces in multiethnic contexts is not a new concept. As Jackson (1992: 131) relates:

> "Public spaces in the City of Difference are based on ideals of the multiple use of public space, in variety, unpredictability, and the sense of attraction to difference, not on the top-down control of public expression and movement."

This feature was also noted in passing by Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) in her study of cross-cultural public space use in California.

This finding is important because current public space planning practice tends to parcel out or fragment spaces into interlocking components (Rutledge, 1986). Instead, public spaces in multiethnic contexts might be better conceived as consisting of layers of meaning that can be removed or added, similar to the way that transparencies of different geographic features (soils, elevations) lie over one another on a planning map. This draws on Cooper Marcus' (1990: 73) concept of "layering and separation", the formation of time and activity zones in a park that allow different groups to use the same space for different activities and to endow it with different meanings.

8.1.6 Accommodating a Diversity of Uses

Very few respondents consider that the diversity of uses and meanings assigned to public space are complex. In fact, they often reduce local "problems" to lack of space. Lack of space for recreational and domestic activities is often considered to contribute to misuse and degradation of spaces worldwide (Besson and Momsen, 1987; Blaikie, 1985), especially in lower income contexts where public spaces are not usually as well-serviced as those in middle income areas (Feldman, Stall, and Wright, 1998; Tuttle, 1996). As Joardar (1989: 736) relates:

> "Under a situation of inadequate supply of outdoor recreational spaces, residents are forced to use whatever is supplied without significant regard to its environmental quality or its original function."

Respondents who addressed this issue believe that this multiplicity of uses would not have any effect on the environment if space was not so limited or restricted. However, the high density of occupation coupled with a shortage of space means that these use patterns and visions are much more likely to collide than they would in a neighbourhood with a different physical or spatial configuration. Respondents are divided on the extent of the problem, however. Residents who live in spacious apartments or in better quality buildings tend to be more critical of the ability of existing spaces to accommodate diverse uses. Residents living in small apartments or in buildings that are in poor condition all report having experienced a decline in their living standards since coming to Canada, and are more likely to be resigned to the quality of local spaces. With respect to public authorities, those who are centrally located often believe that local spaces accommodate this diversity of uses very well. On the contrary, those who are located on-

site or in Côte des Neiges all feel that local spaces are accommodating these demands with difficulty, and report that they are struggling to maintain the basic quality of these spaces while "fighting against entropy". All in all, respondents who are somewhat removed from the context are more likely to feel that local public spaces are responding well than do respondents who use or visit these spaces more often.

This is important, because respondents with the most decision-making power over the eventual physical outcome of these spaces are the ones who are most likely to believe that these spaces can accommodate this diversity of uses very well. The problem is compounded by the fact that residents who use these spaces the most are also more likely to suffer in silence, while those who are the most openly critical tend to attribute problems to the non-integrated practices of new arrivals, rather than to population density or configuration. In fact, the latter residents are the ones who are most likely to complain to local community group workers and municipal authorities, and so are the ones who tend to transmit their vision of space to these actors.

These findings suggest that one must pay attention to where complaints and demands originate, since in our case, residents with the most 'power' (established immigrants and those with higher incomes) are the ones who determine what public space problems will be transmitted to public authorities. This is significant, because even local authorities might not be aware of the gamut of problems and concerns in a given neighbourhood. Since the perceptions of all actors are biased to some extent, it is doubly important that planners and decision-makers be able to access the 'hidden opinions' of any neighbourhood.

8.1.7 "Deviating from the Norm"

All respondents in this study agree that many of the public space uses and concerns in this multiethnic neighbourhood deviate from the norm that they feel prevails in host society neighbourhoods in two ways. The first has to do with differing notions of good civic behaviour and the second with what might be called spatial equity.

Good civic behaviour

The idea of good civic behaviour was one that was brought up by all respondents in one form or another, and is usually invoked to express what many respondents feel are "Canadian" or "Québécois" public space values. The largest group of respondents (three-quarters of residents and over three-quarters of community group workers and public authorities) believes that a sub-section of residents have uncivil environmental behaviours. Some attribute this to a lack of integration on the part of new arrivals, others to the rural origins of some immigrants or to long-term residents who could not care less. The remaining respondents feel that this type of uncivil behaviour can be found in host society neighbourhoods as well, particularly in lower income ones (and so has nothing at all to do with ethnocultural practices or origins). Therefore, a fundamental division occurs here between respondents who attribute these environmental behaviours to ethnocultural origin and those who do not.

The fact that most respondents have rather negative perceptions of newer immigrant groups is concerning, because many of the environmental problems in Mountain Sights date back to the 1970's, when French Canadians made up almost one quarter of the local population. Newer arrivals have thus entered onto a scene that was already set by previous inhabitants. Despite the value that almost all respondents place on "Canadian" standards of garbage disposal and other environmental practices, it appears at first that there is insufficient social pressure in this neighbourhood to force 'offenders' to conform. If we integrate the notions of both groups, however, we obtain a more complete picture, since lower income minority neighbourhoods seem to fare the worse in terms of environmental degradation and poor environmental practices, not only in Montreal (Richardson, 1991, 1993), but across North America (Woods, 1998; Boston and Ross, 1997; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997) and in England as well (Thomas, 2000). Therefore, one must be very careful before pointing the finger at new immigrants.

Spatial equity

The equitable distribution of spatial resources between lower income and middle income areas emerged as being more important than accommodation of cultural differences. Almost all respondents believe that public spaces and the built environment in Mountain Sights are vastly inferior in quality than those in more well-to-do neighbourhoods. Residents and community group workers are convinced that the main cause of local environmental problems is the lack of attention paid to the neighbourhood by public authorities, although culturally-based and 'uncivil' practices certainly add to the problem.

The 'culture of poverty' argument has often been used by municipal administrators to explain away their lack of investment in lower income areas and more particularly, in lower income minority neighbourhoods (Yiftachel, 1998; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). In our case, the lack of suitable space seems to intensify the effect of irregular uses, which would probably remain more hidden in a context that provided individuals with greater access to private and public space in general. The perception of inequitable provision of basic municipal services and recreational opportunities in the neighbourhood seems to deepen negative perspectives on all sides (although not for the same reasons) and perpetuates the idea that neither residents nor municipal authorities are able to treat the environment properly. In turn, this is sometimes considered to perpetuate a cycle of 'unwillingness to invest' in lower income multiethnic neighbourhoods (Skifter Anderson, 2003; Allen and Cars, 2001; Fincher, 2001).

8.1.8 Transcultural Values

The notion that a collectively-shared culture exists in this multiethnic neighbourhood was brought up by almost all respondents. Some called it a "common immigrant culture", while others were not so kind (the infamous "Third World culture"). Despite these different attitudes, the most important thing is that this collectively-shared culture is considered to exist. All residents and quite a few community group workers and public authorities believe that people basically want the same main thing in their neighbourhood regardless of their ethnic origins – a good quality safe environment. In addition to this, we have already seen that a consensus exists regarding the characteristics and values of this multiethnic neighbourhood (public sociability,

family-oriented values, acceptance of commercial uses in private dwellings, and greater emphasis on religious practices). The extent to which respondents valorize or ridicule these characteristics is not the issue here, only that they agree that they exist.

Our findings suggest that these collectively-shared values have two components: one is an acceptance of what might be called "Canadian" environmental standards, and the second component (the transcultural component) is the common denominator linking the beliefs and practices of all residents together. The transcultural component is created from a blurring of cultural values, on the part of immigrants and Canadian-born residents alike. Not everyone in the neighbourhood necessarily shares all these collectively-held values, which would likely be the case in any neighbourhood. What is most important is that the expression of these values is common and openly observable, and that a good number of residents and outside actors agree on their existence.

This type of hybridity or creolization between vastly different cultures living in very close contact with one another has been noted for other culturally complex urban situations (Hannerz, 1992, 1996). Creolization (or *métissage*) is a term coined by anthropologists of cultural complexity such as Hannerz (1992, 1996), Clifford (1994), and Vertovec (1999) to explain the rise of diasporic, transnational, and border identities. These are multiple identities linked through criss-crossing networks resulting from increasing globalization. Like "hybridization", these are terms that describe how "minorities live out their marginality as hybrid beings who live in both the external 'majority' world and their more localized 'minority' world" (Bhabha, 1994: 86). In our case, the blurring of culturally different values and ideas creates transcultural ones. These transcultural values emerged as being more important in many instances than ethno-specific ones (especially in the planning process, as we will see shortly).

This notion is very important, because it changes the way that one looks at a culturally diverse context. Even though most respondents admit that public spaces in Mountain Sights do not meet the culturally diverse needs of all residents, the existence of these transcultural values means that residents might share similar meanings and concerns regarding these spaces. This is interesting for planning, because satisfying one particular transcultural need or concern might meet the more ethno-specific concerns of many different groups at the same time. For example, if all residents believe that mixed-uses should prevail in their neighbourhood, then a measure permitting this

will satisfy the needs of different communities for cultural centres, prayer groups or places of worship, or home businesses catering to their ethnic community.

8.1.9 Perceptions of "Others"

One of the most significant differences between respondents in this analysis lies in the extent to which they attribute certain aspects of public space use to residents' ethnocultural origins. Two main groups emerge here. One group of respondents (Canadian-born and very long-term residents, and almost three-quarters of community group workers and public authorities) tends to 'over-ethnicize', attributing almost everything to ethnic origins or to the "practices of immigrants". This group often glosses over features of the local environment that they feel are due to residents' ethnic origins in favour of those that they believe are commonly-shared (traffic safety, lack of opportunities for youth, etc.). Either they have no idea how to address these culturally-based features or else they do not seem to grant them much importance. The other group is more 'culturally neutral', since these respondents believe that public space uses and visions in Mountain Sights are also commonly found in many other neighbourhoods across Montreal, particularly lower income ones. For this reason, they are more willing than respondents in the first group to search for solutions to these problems, because they feel that these solutions will meet everyone's needs.

For example, respondents in the over-ethnicizing group believe that certain practices derive from the way that culture is publicly expressed in many immigrants' home countries (wedding parades held in public streets in India, for instance), and therefore do not think that there is any need to accommodate them through planning action since they will fade away as immigrants become more integrated. The culturally neutral group believes that residents are forced to hold private parties in public because no other space is available and because they probably cannot afford to rent a hall. Since this problem most likely affects many ethnic groups in the neighbourhood, they think that alternative spaces should be found that would provide residents with a common room for parties and gatherings.

"Us versus them" perceptions also cause a great deal of difficulty in terms of perceptions of public space use, as well as during planning decision-making (discussed in section 8.3). Most residents believe that community group workers and public authorities have misconceptions

about immigrants and immigrant neighbourhoods, especially about the problems affecting local public spaces. On the contrary, three-quarters of community group workers and public authorities are fairly confident that they have a good grasp of the main problems and social dynamics in the neighbourhood, at least those that directly concern them. The problem essentially reduces to the fact that neither side fully understands the practices or cultures of the other and often depend on hearsay (just as actors did in Elias and Scotson's 1965 study), especially if they have not had the opportunity to interact much with each other.

These types of perceptions bring up the difficult question of who determines the uses and values encoded in public space, and what actions or interventions therefore take place. In addition, these perceptions govern the extent to which actors believe that public space concerns in a multiethnic area pose specific planning problems. They determine how actors function in a multiethnic or minority context and how receptive they are to generating possible solutions. More importantly, these findings suggest that these issues are by no means unique to multiethnic contexts, nor are they too complex to deal with from a management perspective.

8.2 DIFFERENT PLANNING APPROACHES IN A MULTIETHNIC AREA

The possible ways of doing planning in an inclusive manner is a topic of some concern for scholars in the multicultural planning tradition. Scholars usually suggest that collaborative or community development approaches are the most successful in multiethnic contexts, while top-down approaches are said to be unable to deal with difference in an inclusive way (Sandercock, 2003a; Baum, 2000; Healey, 1997). Our findings show that this is not always so simple, however. First, all actors involved in local planning efforts experienced a certain degree of difficulty working within a multiethnic context, regardless of the approach they used. Second, none of our involved respondents feel that they managed to achieve the full inclusion of different ethnocultural groups or culturally-based concerns. And third, even within collaborative or community development type approaches, the perceptions that individuals can hold of others sometimes create barriers that are not easily overcome.

8.2.1 Patterns of Involvement

Getting people involved in local environmental improvement efforts is not an easy task, according to our involved respondents. Three patterns of involvement emerge, which are important because they sometimes appear to contradict certain assumptions in the literature. By understanding why residents and other actors become actively involved in the local planning process, this can help further understanding of how the participation of other actors in related instances might be encouraged. Once again, we also encounter the dilemma of deciding whether involvement in this multiethnic neighbourhood has an ethno-specific basis or if it mirrors patterns of involvement found in the society at large.

a) Involvement reflects modes of participation existing in the society at large

The first pattern to emerge is that levels of involvement among residents in Mountain Sights are similar to those found in host society neighbourhoods. High levels of participation in local planning actions are noted for a small group of residents, while the general population appears to have much lower levels of participation. While the decline of involvement in volunteer or political activities has been noted across the United States and Canada (Simard and Mercier, 2001; Marshall and Roberts, 1997), many believe that immigrant and minority groups are even less involved. Either these groups are believed to withdraw into their own self-help networks (Khakee and Thomas, 1995) or else they have been sidelined from the power structures of the host society (Vertovec and Cohen, 2000; Vertovec, 1999).

In our case, neighbourhood improvement activities form the locus of involvement, although other opportunities for involvement exist in the neighbourhood (the activities of the Community Centre, the community daycare, local prayer groups, local leisure clubs). As well, there is nothing to say that residents who are not involved in these types of activities do not participate in volunteer activities outside of the neighbourhood (places of worship, school activities, sports leagues, special interest clubs, etc.). All these forums for community involvement have been the traditional locus of involvement for both immigrants and members of the host society in North America (Taylor, 2000; Bertheleu, 1995; Rosenberg, and Jedwab, 1992).

This particular pattern of involvement is important because municipal actors in Montreal have been struggling with ways to increase the participation of minority groups on formal consultative instances, since these municipal authorities sometimes feel that existing municipal programs and services do not meet the needs of certain ethnocultural or ethno-racial groups (Germain and Sweeney, 2001: 14). It is interesting then to note that involved residents and actors in our multiethnic neighbourhood report the same difficulty during their own planning actions.

b) Women get involved, men usually do not

The second pattern that emerged relates to the gendered nature of involvement. Women are highly involved in neighbourhood planning activities and men are not. Most respondents hold similar misconceptions regarding the reasons why this particular pattern exists. First, most believe that women are involved because they are homemakers who have more free time. The problem is that most involved female residents are college educated and work full or part time. The second misconception (held only by community group workers and public authorities) is that involved residents who are immigrants had no experience in community development or planning activities prior to immigrating to Canada. In fact, almost all of them were involved or had participated in these types of activities in their home countries, or else had close family members who were similarly involved.

The third misconception is that men in the neighbourhood have never been very involved. It must be kept in mind that male residents dominated the community improvement efforts that were initiated in the 1980's and very early 1990's, and were also involved in the activities of the first Residents' Association. In fact, men are highly present on the Community Garden Committee and in community garden activities. Looking back in time, earlier efforts by the Indian community to establish a Hindu cultural centre were initiated by men. As well, all the South Asian residents participating in this study remarked that many men they know in the neighbourhood or in their community were involved in political, religious, and community activities in their home countries. Therefore, there is something about the current context in Mountain Sights that has led men to decrease their levels of participation. As some female residents pointed out, men from certain cultures may be reluctant to get involved in activities that are dominated by women. The effort that certain female community group workers and public

authorities have put into empowering local women and overturning the perceived dominance of local men cannot be discounted either.

Is this pattern specific to this multiethnic neighbourhood, as respondents usually presume? Not necessarily, since this pattern has also been noted for Canadian society as a whole. Statistics Canada's *National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating* (2001) found that women participate the most in volunteer community activities. As well, studies on community-led environmental improvement movements in a wide range of North American neighbourhoods have observed the same thing (Feldman, Stall, and Wright, 1998; Krauss, 1998; Bullard, 1994; Brodkin Sacks, 1988).

c) How immigrants get involved

Involved respondents all agree that only more established immigrants are involved in local planning activities. However, new arrivals do get involved in community social activities or with the community daycare. These respondents note that involvement in "political" activities usually happens once an immigrant becomes more settled and more environmentally conscious. This tends to occur about five years after arriving in Canada, once their life becomes more stable (they have found jobs, got their children settled in school, been granted refugee or permanent resident status).

Many community group workers and public authorities believe that immigrants in the neighbourhood only become involved in local improvement efforts once they decide that they will be staying in the neighbourhood (and so have developed the desire to invest in it). On the contrary, all our involved residents report that this has nothing to do with their levels of involvement, as quite a few intend to buy houses in other parts of the city in the near future. They report that they were always concerned about the state of local public spaces and the environment. It just took them some time to feel confident enough to become publicly or politically active. These diverging perspectives are important, because in the literature, involvement in community development activities is linked with the development of an attachment to neighbourhood (Goldsmith, 2002; Elman, 2001). It has often been argued that as immigrants become more settled they develop a distaste for the "environment of the transit zone", which lessens their desire to invest through volunteer activities (Sampson, 1988). Our

study shows that this is not necessarily true, since lack of involvement by new immigrants in local political activities (from residents' groups to participation in borough meetings and public consultations) does not mean that they do not want to get involved. As other studies have shown (Germain and Sweeney, 2001), they are simply participating in their own way, according to their personal interests and trajectories. In our case, immigrants begin by getting involved in social activities before later becoming involved in community development and planning activities.

Two main observations emerge from this particular involvement pattern. Immigrants are said to prefer to become involved in ethnic associations and ethnic self-help networks rather than in municipal political processes (Meintel, 1998; Bertheleu, 1995; Dorais, 1992; Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992). The first observation is therefore that involved residents in our multiethnic neighbourhood have bypassed the idea of ethnic community involvement and have moved directly on to the idea of involvement in their multiethnic neighbourhood. This is an interesting feature of life in a highly multiethnic context, as it shows the extent to which 'groupness' can re-form around multiple ethnic origins.

The second observation is that residents' level and type of involvement is determined by the degree to which they are suspicious of "authority". The majority of respondents agree that lack of participation or attendance at meetings with public authorities (either in the neighbourhood or at formal public instances) is mainly due to the discomfort many immigrants or minorities feel when faced with authorities in general, as well as to their lack of fluency in French or English. Thomas (2000) noted the same phenomenon in his study of minority groups and the planning process in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, this sense of discomfort in the presence of authority has also been reported for lower income areas in general, where the gulf between institutional or professional culture and local culture is sometimes very large (Briassoulis, 1998; Rabrenovic, 1996).

It may be safely concluded that even though these three patterns of involvement are found across Canada, the mechanisms that underlie the formation of the latter two patterns derive in part from the immigrant settlement trajectory.

8.2.2 Dealing with Difference is Not Easy

Our findings show that cultural diversity can facilitate local planning efforts, just as it can render them more difficult. Involved respondents all suggest that the multiethnicity of the neighbourhood makes it easier for people to let go of ideas that may be of interest only to their own ethnic community and to concentrate on issues that affect everyone. This observation is important, because elimination of 'noise' is often considered to be one of the more complicated aspects of doing planning in multiethnic contexts (Burayidi, 2003; Baum, 2000). On the other hand, most of these same respondents have experienced varying degrees of difficulty when dealing with cultural difference. These difficulties result from two main factors: problems of cross-cultural communication, and perceptions and expectations held of others.

a) Cross-cultural communication

Cross-cultural communication refers to the modes and methods of communicating between different groups, be these ethnic or interest groups, who usually do not share the same power differentials, languages, mentalities, or objectives (Sandercock, 1998a, 2003a; Forester, 2000; Healey, 1997). In our case, many involved respondents remarked that discord sometimes existed during their activities due to the communication styles of different groups. While residents do not feel that this type of situation disrupts their work, community group workers or public authorities feel that it does.

Cross-cultural difficulties also hinder the ability of involved respondents in all sectors to do outreach among the population at large in Mountain Sights. Cultural factors (relations between the sexes, language difficulties) make it difficult for them to bring their message to the population at large and to mobilize individuals in the neighbourhood. Residents report having a lot of trouble doing outreach among members of their own community as well. This finding is important, because it contradicts authors in the multicultural planning tradition who argue that the best way to increase awareness of the needs of different ethnic groups in the planning process is to increase the proportion of individuals from these groups in decision-making positions (Greed, 1999; Qadeer, 1997).

As Qadeer (1997: 485) reports:

> "Also important is the appointment to planning departments of professionals from minority communities. The diversity of planners' backgrounds ensures appreciation of cultural and racial differences. In the same vein, representation of minorities among elected and nominated executives at local and provincial levels is a necessary condition for bringing a multicultural perspective to public decision-making bodies."

b) Perceptions and expectations

Difficulties related to perceptions and expectations of others present more insidious problems. Three main difficulties emerged. One results from the collision of professional and local cultures. The second arises out of pejorative impressions of different groups. And the third has to do with expectations of democratic process. The most important thing is that despite the existence of all these difficulties, involved actors have persisted in their planning efforts. According to Venuti (1998), the point of contact between very different ethnic and interest groups can be disruptive at first, because these are very different ways of looking at the world and of acting within in. Therefore, this type of contact leads to resistance before it leads to acceptance.

The collision of professional and local ways of doing

The first main difficulty involves the point of contact between professional and local cultures. Quite a few respondents in the non-profit and public service sectors believe that it is difficult to get residents to understand why their activity or viewpoint should be wholeheartedly adopted. Since they feel that this difficulty does not exist in a "French Canadian" neighbourhood, it appears that they expect residents in a multiethnic neighbourhood to have the same concerns and understanding of the issue as residents in a host society neighbourhood might have. For example, certain actors were upset that residents, janitors, and building owners in Mountain Sights do not attribute the same priority to recycling as do similar actors in host society neighbourhoods across Montreal. However, a much smaller group of community group workers and public authorities believes that these difficulties exist across the board in lower income neighbourhoods, and so are not unique to multiethnic ones. On the other hand, residents often complain that outside actors do not listen to them and do not want to hear what they have to say. The difficulty that outside

actors have in "listening to the context" has been noted in the planning literature (Baum, 2000), and is considered to hinder project success.

Different ways of "doing business" also cause difficulties. Almost all involved respondents agree that community group workers and public authorities have a certain model in their heads regarding how meetings should be organized and how people should interact during planning activities. These actors expect that residents will be available to attend borough council meetings on a regular basis. They also expect them to be able to present planning briefs in a professional manner according to public sector guidelines and to follow a strict agenda. These expectations cause problems when these actors become frustrated with the low level of "professionalization" of local residents' groups. They seem to forget that residents' groups are composed mainly of volunteer members who are not employees of an institution and therefore not bound to act as employees or professionals. This is a rather common issue, as other studies on the non-profit sector in Montreal have found (Germain, Morin, and Sénécal, 2000; Germain and Sweeney, 2001).

Residents who complain about being patted on the head during meetings by some involved community group workers and public authorities may have a point. Most involved residents were involved in, or aware of, community development and planning procedures in their home countries. However, community group workers and public authorities all believe that these residents had no such knowledge before coming to Canada. As a result, residents' experience and planning knowledge is substantially devalued during meetings with these actors.

Many involved residents also complain that some of these actors (all French Canadians) try to force them to speak only French during meetings or to adopt what they feel are "Québécois" values. This refers to ways of thinking that are foreign to many residents (notions of gender equality, the nuclear family, or certain types of inter-personal relations) and does not refer to overall environmental values. Since these community group workers and public authorities admit doing such things, it is clear that the point of contact between French Canadians and local residents in this study is not always easy for either group.

On the other hand, outside actors who have been working in Mountain Sights for a long time are by all accounts the most sensitive to difference and have the easiest time working within local dynamics. Residents also report that these actors are the "most like them". The point of contact in this case has had a transformative effect on the way residents and authorities perceive each other. While many postcolonial authors such as Said (1993) believe that this point of contact is one of resistance or rebellion against "the colonizer", bell hooks' (1995: 298) idea of the space of reconciliation makes more sense:

> "The power of this space is not only that it forms a site of resistance, but that it also forges a space for alternative cultural production and alternative epistemologies, for the meeting and reconciliation of different ways of thinking and knowing that are crucial to creating a counterhegemonic world view."

Pejorative or discriminatory impressions

The thorny issue of pejorative perceptions also raised its head during our interviews. None of the community group workers or public authorities participating in this study said that they hold racist or pejorative attitudes towards immigrants or minorities, although some made disparaging comments about the 'non-integrated' practices of certain types of immigrants. However, half of the study's residents of Black Canadian, West Indian, and Haitian origin, as well as one third of those of South Asian origin, keep the question of racism firmly in the back of their mind during interactions with actors in these sectors. Indeed, studies on minorities and the planning process have found that this sentiment is sometimes justified (Thomas, 2000; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). Some of these residents said that they have been discriminated against during a permit application or during meetings with public officials because of their race. Others reeled off a string of "racist" incidents involving public sector employees, as well as their past and present employers.

We cannot discount these perceptions, since studies on visible minorities and the planning process have found that ethnic and racial minorities suffer high refusal rates for all kinds of development permission (Thomas, 2000; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997; Khakee and Thomas,

1995; Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993: 23; Hoch, 1993; Gilkes, 1988). Canadian planning researcher Mohammad Qadeer (1997: 485) certainly has his reasons when he wonders:

> "What treatment do persons of colour, unusual names, thick accents or non-English or non-French ancestry get from planning departments? Are there systematic biases in planning procedures and outlook that put minority communities at a disadvantage?"

There is a slight catch here, however. Other residents of West Indian, Haitian, Black Canadian, or South Asian origin interviewed for this study said that they have never experienced any form of pejorative or racist behaviour on the part of public authorities. These residents said that they feel very comfortable during interactions with public authorities, and attribute negative experiences (refusal of requests, non-helpful authorities) to inter-personal problems rather than racism. For this reason, it should be kept in mind that "calling race" does not always mean that racism actually exists. This is not meant to downplay the issue of racism or discrimination, since a substantial body of evidence suggests that it can be a problem in the planning process. It only means that we must always keep in mind that perceptions held by one individual of another should not necessarily be attributed to all members of a particular group.

Expectations of democratic process

Democracy emerged as a rather touchy issue in terms of expectations of the planning process. First of all, residents and community group workers/public authorities have very different perceptions regarding the value that democracy has for immigrants. And second, democracy is related to the struggle for power and control over local activities.

The fact that most community group workers and public authorities believe that immigrants have little familiarity with democracy does immigrants a great disservice, since notions of democratic process and fairness are highly important to residents in this study. Residents often complain that they were not allowed to become members of the Residents' Association, or that the Residents' Association makes decisions behind closed doors and does not share useful information with the community at large. Therefore, the issue is not that community group workers and public authorities believe that local residents' groups do not operate democratically. The actual issue is that many believe that residents have no concept of democratic group process.

These perceptions are important because they relate to the struggle for power and control over local planning activities. Many residents welcome coalition-building with public sector actors, whom they believe will be able give their work more focus and lend their projects greater political weight. However, some of these actors are accused of trying to impose a frame of reference on residents that goes beyond counsel on democratic group process to the realm of meddling with local social dynamics. In other words, these actors are said (and admit this themselves) to have a great deal of difficulty restricting their interventions to the exercise of their professional capacity in the name of democracy. This is particularly true of actors who confuse democratic group process with equal rights for women. For example, some feel that they have to continually intervene during inter-group conflicts (trying to shut down community meetings, for example). Many also have a problem with the power that local residents give to locally-crowned (but not democratically elected) leaders or to men in certain ethnocultural groups. For them, these features are attempts to reproduce what one respondent calls the "undemocratic and dictatorial attitudes that are typical of communities in the Third World but not here."

The inability of many public authorities to digest the notion of local leaders is significant, given the weight and role that such leaders play in many ethnocultural communities (Eade, 1990; Werbner, 1990; Bhardwaj and Rao, 1990; Déjean, 1980). As well, the ability to work within local dynamics and hierarchical systems is considered to be one of the main indicators of successful planning outcomes in immigrant neighbourhoods, especially those where South Asians dominate (Lo Piccolo, 1997). On the other hand, the entire impetus behind feminist empowerment models is to overturn existing social hierarchies, and this is a model to which a surprisingly large number of female community group workers and municipal authorities in our study ascribe. This creates a dilemma of sorts. On one hand, the ability to work within local hierarchies and with local leaders has led to successful planning outcomes for both residents and authorities in our case. On the other hand, efforts to institute a "democratic" social agenda that involves redistributing power within the local community have also had some success in Mountain Sights (for example, women now hold the majority of leadership positions, which was not the case in the early 1990's).

Democracy also refers to the dominance of different groups over the local planning process in Mountain Sights. Almost all South Asian residents, involved or not, feel that the more established Black Canadian, Haitian, and West Indian groups have the most power in the neighbourhood. For example, the elected president of the Board of Directors for the Community Centre is Haitian and the former president of the first Residents' Association is West Indian. The problem is that these types of perceptions are not accurate. The first two presidents of the Community Garden Committee were long-term residents of Indian and Sri Lankan origin, individuals of Sri Lankan and Filipino origin were founding members of the first Residents' Association, and the second Residents' Association is dominated by South Asians. As well, residents whom other respondents often bring up as being "the best person to ask" are often women of Indian or Sri Lankan origin. What links all these community leaders together is not their ethnocultural origin, but the fact that they are all long-term residents and established immigrants.

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It seems clear that being able to work successfully within a multiethnic context such as Mountain Sights means being able to accept existing social dynamics, or at least being willing to try and find a common ground with other actors. The "clash of cultures" is a term coined by Benjamin Barber (1995) to explain the point of collision between Western and non-Western cultures. In the local planning process, collision occurs between an institutional culture headed mainly by French Canadians and the cultures of local residents. As our findings show, this point of collision becomes problematic if actors are unable to communicate effectively across these cultural divides. This is sometimes due to the negative perceptions that one group has of another, although it usually reduces to miscommunication between different groups. Two thirds of community group workers and public authorities place the onus on residents to communicate their problems and ideas effectively to them. For residents, this creates a problem, because they can only be heard if and when they manage to use "professional" language, preferably in French. As bell hooks (1995: 295) puts it: "this is the oppressor's language, yet I need it to talk to you." Our findings suggest that any attempt to render the planning process more inclusive of difference therefore begins with respectful cross-cultural communication.

8.2.3 Some Approaches are More Effective Than Others

Analysis of the success or failure of different planning and intervention approaches used in Mountain Sights shows that what might be called 'the local approach' is the one that works best in a culturally diverse context. All involved respondents agree on the basic outline of the local approach, and on the reasons why it has been effective. This informal grassroots approach is very similar to community-building approaches used in multiethnic contexts in North America (Baum, 2000; Ameyaw, 2000) and to those put forward by authors in the communicative tradition (Forester, 2000; Vertovec, 1999; Healey, 1997). In our case, it is also based on team-work and the use of planning tools that resemble those used by professional planners (needs assessment, preparation of planning briefs, fund-raising, creation of action plans detailing overall goals and objectives, preparation of planning requests in an 'institutional' style). It emphasizes consensus-building among participants (prioritizing actions, negotiating between different interests, community consultation), and the value of coalition-building with outside actors and resource persons. Emphasis is also placed on the manipulation of popular opinion (maintaining the visibility of the dossier in question through media reports, discussion meetings with authorities, etc.).

While this approach has been very successful for specific infrastructural projects (park equipment, for example), it has by all accounts been less effective for projects that require sustainable or comprehensive action, such as the cockroach eradication project or the landlord sensitization project. Many involved respondents admit that these types of projects require some sort of task force approach that is similar to the approach used in the early 1990's to counter criminal activities and building degradation in the neighbourhood. In fact, respondents who are aware of this approach consider it to be well suited for these types of interventions, because the task force approach is designed to attack a problem on many fronts through the collaboration of many different actors and organizations. For example, an effective cockroach eradication program needs the participation of every building owner and janitor in the neighbourhood, combined with effective outreach among local residents and continual effort on the part of municipal authorities (for things such as coordinating and monitoring spraying, ensuring that residents and building owners cooperate, overseeing door-to-door outreach programs, and ridding basements and garbage areas of debris).

Top-down approaches have fared the worse, according to all respondents with knowledge of these particular projects. For example, the City's recycling and black box project and an immigrant integration and housing project that was carried out by a major funding organization both failed to account for local dynamics. In both of these instances, project managers were unable to convince residents or relevant actors of these projects' importance, and had quite some difficulty working within this multiethnic context. Since both of these projects have succeeded in French Canadian neighbourhoods, it is clear that these projects were designed to operate in a typical French Canadian neighbourhood but were not flexible enough to be adapted to a culturally different context.

Project success aside, how successfully have these different approaches accommodated and dealt with cultural differences? When we began this study, we expected that some residents might insist on the value of accounting for diverse culturally-based needs or concerns within the local planning process. As it turns out, this was not really an issue for residents at all. While some residents would certainly like to see micro-features in their environment that might be called ethno-specific (enclosed seating areas in the park for women, for example), they are bothered the most by the perception that public authorities overlook or ignore what they feel are the basic needs of the neighbourhood. In fact, none of our involved residents believe that the "local approach", or other types of self-help or lobby group approaches, would be necessary if municipal authorities were more willing to address their concerns regarding the quality of local public spaces and the environment. Many community group workers and public authorities agree that residents are justified in their opinion.

It is clear that the "local approach" has its own fair share of difficulty operating within a multiethnic context. Involved residents in this multiethnic neighbourhood experience the same difficulty operating within a culturally diverse context as community group workers and public authorities do (problems mobilizing non-involved residents, difficulty doing outreach, cross-cultural communication problems). Residents tend to have a better understanding of where these difficulties arise than other actors do, although they have not been able to develop mechanisms to facilitate their work in this respect, except at the level of the internal functioning of residents' groups. This is important because grassroots types of endeavours are highly valorized by authors in the multicultural planning tradition for their inclusiveness and because they are deemed to

help sensitize professional planners to the needs or concerns of multiethnic areas (Sandercock, 1998a, 2003a; Thompson, 2000).

It is interesting to note that involved residents who are immigrants all report that they draw on their experiences in their home countries when devising their interventions and operations. They do not distinguish between their community development practices in their home countries and those that they carry out in Canada since they feel that they are so similar. It is important to note that none of them believe that dealing with cultural diversity was an important element of their planning or community development experience in their home countries. Indeed, the reactions of municipal planners in their home countries to culturally different uses often appear very similar to those reported by public authorities who work regularly in Côte des Neiges. In other words, the main reaction of officials in both contexts to different or irregular uses is to turn a blind eye or to evaluate them on a case-by-case basis. However, some residents did feel that municipal authorities in their home countries are more likely to formally approve uses that authorities in Montreal will refuse because these uses do not meet the letter of local by-laws.

By all accounts, residents and community group workers using the "local approach" have not been able to account for ethnoculturally diverse demands. In fact, they prefer to sweep them under the carpet and concentrate only on the things that can benefit the population at large (park improvement, safer streets, greater public cleanliness). In this respect, their ways of dealing with difference are not much different than those of municipal authorities, as we will see in the next section. It should be borne in mind here that the raison d'être of these local planning actions is neighbourhood and environmental improvement. Until these larger environmental issues are addressed, these respondents are adamant that ethno-specific features that cannot be shared with other groups in the neighbourhood will always receive short shrift.

In short, our findings on the topic of the local planning process have shown us that local residents have just as much difficulty working within a culturally diverse context as other actors do, although for slightly different reasons. Also, many of the specific patterns that emerged in this study with respect to involvement in the planning process, work methods, difficulties, and project success are apparently not specific to multiethnic contexts. They also seem to occur within Canadian society in general, and more specifically, in less well-to-do contexts. The weight placed on accommodating ethno-specific requests or differences in the local planning

process is considerably less than that placed on elements that are commonly-shared by all residents. It bears mention that these elements are somewhat different to those found in what respondents call "Canadian" or "Québécois" culture (including professional culture). However, just because attention to culturally-based difference is less does not mean that it should be ignored, as the failure of projects designed with host society neighbourhoods in mind have shown.

8.3 MUNICIPAL PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

Our fourth interview topic sought to find out how the formal planning and management framework deals with cultural diversity on a daily basis. Two respondent groups are often diametrically opposed in terms of receptiveness to difference and perceptions of standards and norms. First of all, while residents and community group workers believe that most public authorities are closed off to difference, half of the public authorities in this study disagree, even though they might all experience difficulties working in multiethnic contexts. Second, residents, community group workers, and public authorities have very different opinions on how standards and norms should be perceived and implemented in a multiethnic context. In both situations, "us versus them" perceptions are very common and stem mostly from attitudes that can be considered to be over-ethnicizing versus those that are more culturally neutral. When all these different visions of how one should work in a multiethnic context are compared for their relevance for planning, a common vision emerges of a process that is collaborative, flexible, interest-based, and case-specific.

8.3.1 The Receptiveness of Public Authorities to Difference

Several main observations emerge with respect to the receptiveness of public authorities to ethnocultural difference. The first is that personal attitudes towards the value of accommodating difference must be separated from the practice of accommodating difference or operating in a multiethnic context. Second, a distinction must be made between ethno-specific cases and the overall reality of working in a multiethnic neighbourhood. Third, ethnocultural diversity emerges as being only one form of social diversity requiring specific attention in the municipal planning and management process. And fourth, the effect of "us versus them" perceptions has a considerable effect on the type of decisions rendered.

a) Deciding in favour of cultural diversity

All 20 involved residents in this study believe that most municipal and public institutional actors are not open to the requests of different ethnic communities, nor to the needs and concerns of immigrant or minority neighbourhoods. In addition, the remaining residents all believe that the City ignores immigrant areas due to latent bias and prejudice against the poor or against minorities. Where our findings become interesting is when we compare these attitudes to those of other respondents. None of our community group workers or public authorities ever came out and said "I am not open to other cultures in my decision-making process". However, those who hold what might be called assimilationist conceptions said that they believe that the needs and values of the society at large should be adhered to. Therefore, they try to make decisions based on their idea of the common public interest. However, if a particular ethnic community demonstrates that the City should accommodate a more ethno-specific request or feature, then these actors are willing to consider it. In a sense, they can be said to be receptive to difference *only under certain circumstances*. On the other hand, over half of all community group workers and public authorities hold more inclusionist conceptions, and report that they are very open and receptive to different cultures and culturally-specific needs. Like their colleagues in the assimilationist group, though, over three-quarters are only able to be fully receptive to cultural differences under certain circumstances (one quarter has no problem being inclusive at all times), due to operational constraints that are beyond their control. Therefore, residents are not wrong in their perceptions, although most only see the result (inability to accommodate difference in the decision-making process) instead of the reasons why these actors are unable to be more inclusive.

b) Ethno-specific cases versus the multiethnic neighbourhood

Residents themselves hold either assimilationist or inclusionist conceptions. The difference here is that all residents believe that public authorities overlook the needs and concerns of a multiethnic immigrant neighbourhood, even if they are split on the importance of accommodating ethno-specific concerns. Therefore, it appears that a distinction must be made between receptiveness to ethno-specific items and attentiveness to the overall needs and concerns of a multiethnic neighbourhood. Accommodating ethno-specific requests means that a positive decision was made on a specific case (for example, a South Asian cricket league that requests

that the City provide them with a playing field or an Indian group that requests permission to open a Hindu cultural centre in a residential neighbourhood). While all public authorities and community group workers believe that authorities are willing to consider supporting these specific cases if they are convinced of their merits, the handful of residents who hold assimilationist conceptions (Canadian-born and very long-term immigrants) do not believe that decisions on these cases always need to be positive, since many of these needs will disappear as newer immigrants become more integrated.

Things get trickier when the issue involves a multiethnic neighbourhood. In this case, it is no longer a question of debating the merits of a specific case, but of deciding how public space and the environment in general should be managed within such a context. For almost all residents, it is a question of pejorative attitudes, since they feel that authorities do not merely ignore the ethno-specific needs and concerns of individual residents, they also ignore the well-being of the neighbourhood *because authorities believe it is a poor immigrant neighbourhood.* Most arrive at this conclusion by comparing the range of services provided in nearby wealthier neighbourhoods (such as the Town of Mount Royal) with what they feel are the lack of services provided in Mountain Sights and in Côte des Neiges in general. On the other hand, only community group workers and public authorities whose employers are reported to be very supportive of the multi-dimensional task of decision-making and operating in a multiethnic context feel that they are able to function effectively and inclusively in Côte des Neiges as a whole. The rest (including all City of Montreal employees) feel that they are not able to provide the same type of services or to make proper decisions in a multiethnic area because they are constrained by a lack of institutional support and sufficient resources. Therefore, what residents perceive as being prejudice against an immigrant neighbourhood is a problem that municipal authorities believe stems from lack of resources and institutional support.

These findings match those of other planning researchers. For example, Frisken and Wallace (2000) also found that awareness of cultural difference and the ability to make inclusive decisions are not always the same thing for public authorities, especially those who are not operating under very supportive conditions. If a municipality (or organization) does not have a set of internal guidelines that dictate how decisions should be approached in a multiethnic context or sufficient resources devoted to helping employees work with diverse cultural groups, then it is difficult for employees to do so. Ameyaw (2000) notes that planners were able to bring

many different ethnic communities into the planning process and mediate between very different cultural viewpoints in Vancouver and Surrey because the mechanisms for doing so were already in place (such as the City of Vancouver's multicultural planning unit and the policies and programs of the municipality of Surrey). In addition, withdrawal of such policies and programs under a different political regime means that planners and municipal managers no longer have the ability to work inclusively (Thomas, 2000; Friedmann and Lehrer, 1998; Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993).

The relevance of our findings on institutional support and the ability to function effectively in multiethnic contexts is therefore highly significant for city management and planning. This is especially true for municipalities like the City of Montreal that already have a policy or strategy designed to guide decision-making in culturally diverse contexts. As we have seen, if institutional strategies such as the City of Montreal's interculturalism strategy and reasonable accommodation management guidelines are not consistently supported, applied, and interpreted by all departments and divisions, then such strategies will not prove to be all that useful in daily practice. In addition, the inability of municipal authorities to provide the same quality of service in multiethnic areas as in host society ones risks alienating residents (particularly immigrants) living in multiethnic districts. This increases the likelihood that residents will develop the impression of being discriminated against in terms of municipal service provision, which in turn lowers their opinion of the City in general and potentially decreases their desire to interact with municipal authorities.

c) Attention to social diversity, not just cultural diversity

Community group workers and public authorities in this study often stress social diversity over cultural diversity. Although this finding relates only to these particular respondents, it bears mention because of its relevance to the issue of receptiveness to difference. Two thirds of these respondents believe that cultural diversity is only one aspect of the social diversity that they have to deal with on a daily basis. Despite their difficulty operating or making effective decisions in culturally diverse contexts, almost all municipal authorities said that they have no such difficulty when it comes to other forms of social difference, particularly those involving women's public safety needs. Nine out of 12 municipal actors in this study said that they would automatically give women's safety priority in their decision-making. When questioned further on this point,

almost all said that their department or division has prioritized women's safety issues and has provided them with fairly comprehensive guidelines that help them make decisions on women's safety.

This attention to women's safety and planning issues on the part of municipal authorities is due to the efforts of the City's *Programme Femmes et ville*. The main objective of this endeavour is to increase women's urban safety through planning and design mechanisms. This program also provides support to municipal operations, and links the City's actions in with those of women's groups and other municipalities across Canada (Ville de Montréal, Programme Femmes et ville, 2003). The *Femmes et ville* program was officially formed in 1989 by the City's Executive Committee on the recommendation of the municipal *Commission de l'aménagement, de l'habitation et des travaux publics*, which supported the policy brief on women's issues in planning prepared by a coalition of community organizations and activists called the Collectif Femmes et villes (Collectif Femmes et villes, 1988, 1989). The *Femmes et ville* program was therefore instituted around the same time as the Intercultural Affairs Bureau. This new program division focused on the overall needs of children and women in public space (recreation, itineraries and trajectories in public space, housing, daycare, etc.), and more particularly on women's safety needs. From 1989 until 1992, this program fell under the auspices of the City's urban planning department (*Service de l'habitation et du développement urbain*), and from 1992 until 2002 fell under the community development branch of the *Service des loisirs, des sports et du développement social* (this department was split in 2003 into a Sports and Recreation Department and a Social and Community Development Department). Unlike intercultural issues, which were relegated to the back-burner following the municipal mergers of 2002, the *Femmes et ville* program was expanded across the new mega-city's entire territory and was given a new dossier on equality between men and women. Early in 2002, the new City Council unanimously adopted the *Déclaration mondiale de IULA sur les femmes dans le gouvernement local*, in which the City agreed to systematically integrate the issue of equality between men and women in all its departments' policies, programs, and activities (for further details, refer to www.cities-localgovernments,org/uclg). As well, the *Femmes et ville* program division released a detailed guidebook in 2003 (*Pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire: guide d'aménagement*) on how to design safe public spaces and manage urban safety in Montreal. This guidebook provides step-by-step instructions for municipal employees, although most of these guidelines had already been disseminated to various departments prior to publication.

It is very important in our case to note that municipal political and practical attention to women's planning and safety issues has been maintained following the transition to the newly-merged City of Montreal, while intercultural affairs has floundered. When municipal authorities state that they require a comprehensive City-wide departmental policy and set of detailed guidelines in order to be able to operate and make decisions on issues related to cultural diversity, this is the type of solution they are talking about.

When one notes that it has taken the director of the City's former Sports, Recreation, and Social Development Department over a decade to have the City approve policy guidelines increasing access to municipal services by the disabled, respondents who believe that inclusion should refer to all forms of social difference may have a point. It might be said that attention to social difference is perhaps one of the most problematic issues facing planning and municipal policy today, since it has repercussions on all aspects of municipal management, from the public consultation process to the smallest administrative decisions (Hall, 2002). The existence of municipal policies targeting difference are often the result of years of pressure put on municipal governments (Thomas, 2000; Wekerle, 2000; Friedmann and Lehrer, 1998). The similar struggles faced by all these groups show that the lack of municipal attention to cultural diversity is only one part of a larger problem.

d) Being heard

Perceptions of "us versus them" are important in terms of receptiveness to difference because these perceptions have less to do with the refusal to consider ethno-specific issues than with the simple feeling of being unheard. Almost all involved residents and community group workers believe that public authorities are inaccessible, even during public consultation forums. This is important because many public authorities believe that these forums are where residents are best able to express their concerns. On the other hand, almost all municipal authorities also said that they have very few ways of finding out what might actually concern different ethnic groups, because the turnout at public consultation meetings is not high for members of many ethnic communities. Essentially, each side has its own version of the truth. Residents feel that many public authorities ignore what they have to say during the times when they have met with them, and many have developed the impression that municipal authorities are biased against immigrants (community group workers and some public institutional authorities have the same

feeling). Likewise, municipal authorities feel that they cannot get the information they require through formal channels, and have developed the perception that either immigrants and minorities are not interested in communicating with the City or else that these groups are unreachable.

These two groups both feel that the other is difficult to reach. One reason for this involves the ability to communicate in English and French, since residents often have difficulty communicating in French (and sometimes in English as well) and public authorities often have difficulty communicating in English. The second reason has to do with the professionalization of planning language (Guttenberg, 1993; Greed, 1999). If residents do not speak the municipal "language of planning", then both sides will have difficulty communicating concepts to one another. And the third reason stems from the fact that there are few ways for municipal authorities and residents to actually discuss matters together outside of public consultation meetings. Other means of communication between residents and municipal authorities are simply mechanisms for the transmission of requests (Accès-Montréal offices, local City councillors or elected representatives), not forums for discussion.

The formation of residents' associations is one means of attempting to overcome this distance, although even here perceptions of the inaccessibility of municipal authorities are common. In the literature, the rise of local planning alliances in reaction to a perceived deficit in service provision is considered to form "key nodes" (Healey, 1996) or "interstitial planning spaces" (AlSayyad, 2001) where actors from all walks of life can meet in order to identify shared problems and find ways of addressing them. In our case, however, local groups often find it difficult to become included in the development of more effective service delivery programs in multiethnic areas, since:

> "The contemporary problem is that the representative model does not easily provide voice for the multiple interests generated by the relational webs within urban areas. [...] What is needed is a form of accountability which allows for the active involvement of various parties in policy development and delivery while at the same time setting the parameters of attention to interests." (Healey, 1995: 287)

Receptiveness to cultural diversity is therefore linked in with several other key issues – misperceptions that condition inter-personal relations and decision-making, the ability to operate within a multiethnic context, the attention given to all forms of social difference, and the failure

of current formal public consultation mechanisms. Not only do these observations have repercussions at the level of decision-making, but they also have an effect on the way that actors "do" planning and management in multiethnic contexts on a daily basis.

8.3.2 "Making Do": Planning and Management Practice in Multiethnic Contexts

The arbitrariness of planning and management practices in multiethnic contexts was a major finding. This arbitrariness stems from three sources: ambivalent attitudes towards immigrants and ethnoculturally diverse practices, the inability to find or negotiate a common denominator within a culturally complex situation, and the dilemma of collaboration and partnership between authorities and 'locals'.

a) Arbitrary practices

Involved residents, community group workers, and public authorities all believe that the practices of municipal authorities (and some public institutional authorities) in multiethnic contexts are usually very arbitrary. This means that they can find no rationale governing why decisions or practices in similar situations are often quite different. However, public authorities in this study are well aware that their practices may appear arbitrary. They say that they are making up decisions and practices as they go along, in the absence of a jurisprudence of previous cases, policy documents, and internal memos stating the position to be taken in certain situations. They often feel that their decisions are not supported in any way, and are never sure whether their decisions are right or wrong. Some respondents said that their divisional office has been trying to develop its own procedural guidelines, although these guidelines have no regulatory or policy support and so decisions are easily contested. Qadeer (1997: 481) notes the exact same quandary regarding arbitrary decision-making in Toronto. The arbitrary nature of municipal practices and decision-making in contexts of cultural diversity is therefore a major observation to emerge from this study.

Arbitrariness is also linked with decisions and practices that appear to have "little thought involved". Most residents, community group workers, and institutional authorities complain that City employees make by-the-book decisions with little regard to the nature of the need or to the creative options open to them. Most municipal actors in this study disagree, saying that they are

simply overwhelmed and have no sense of direction in these circumstances. Often, they hesitate to even entertain a solution because they are afraid of "opening up a whole can of worms". This coincides with the practices of many public officials in Frisken and Wallace's (2000) study on the response of public authorities to diversity in the Toronto area. In other words, the pressure inherent in trying to accommodate or answer what municipal authorities may feel is a "babel of often conflicting demands" (Healey, 1997: 277) produces what Zolo (1992) refers to as a "selective overload" among authorities who wish to reduce the complexity of their work reality.

By-the-book decisions may not always be the right ones to make, but as many municipal actors in this study suggest, they sometimes appear to be the easiest and most equitable ones. The problem is that respondents differ considerably on how they define equitable treatment. Residents and community group workers all feel that equity means that each situation is addressed according to all its angles. Municipal authorities believe that since they do not have the resources to do so, fair decisions and practices in multiethnic contexts are those that they would also arrive at in host society contexts. These same ethical dilemmas confront planners and municipal authorities in many other Canadian cities (Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2001; Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999), where decisions that address the needs of one group are not always satisfactory to another, or where similar decisions have different outcomes in different contexts. Would guidelines on how to make equitable decisions in culturally diverse situations help, as many municipal respondents suggest? This remains to be seen, since the form and content of such guidelines do not currently exist.

b) Over-ethnicizing

One of the main issues related to arbitrary decision-making and practices in multiethnic contexts has to do with the perceptions that different actors hold of ethnic or immigrant groups and neighbourhoods. Almost all residents in this study believe that public authorities and many community group workers tend to "over-ethnicize" immigrants or ethnocultural groups, which contributes to the arbitrariness of their response. One example that came up quite a few times involves municipal officials who are unsympathetic to requests from South Asian residents for a hockey rink in a neighbourhood park because "immigrants don't play hockey, so who's going to use the rink?" These perceptions are unfortunately confirmed by the responses of almost half of the public authorities surveyed here. Many of these actors hold perceptions regarding public

space preferences and concerns in multiethnic areas that are different or opposite from those of residents. For example, most South Asian residents in our study said that they prefer the layout of the southern section of De La Savane Park to the wide open area in the northern part. However, they dislike being "all crowded together" in the southern section, despite the fact that they enjoy the opportunity to socialize with one another. They would prefer a park that had the features of the southern section spread out over a much larger area in order to give them some breathing room. On the other hand, many municipal authorities whose work includes overseeing park operations or management said that South Asians in Côte des Neiges prefer spaces where they can be very close together. These types of perceptions are not limited to public authorities, since residents who are Canadian-born or who are very long-term immigrants tend to be guilty of the same thing, especially with respect to newer immigrant groups.

Therefore, almost half of community group workers and public authorities and one quarter of residents believe that certain situations in Mountain Sights or Côte des Neiges have ethno-specific roots when in fact they involve issues that might concern many other groups (including host society ones). In this respect, the author agrees with Baum (2000: 16), who notes:

> "We can over-interpret cases as being very ethno-specific when really they all involve the same basic sets of planning needs and wants. Being sensitive but not overly sensitive is better."

c) Finding a common denominator

Plurality does not mean the same thing to everyone who participated in this study, but what it does *not* mean is clear. Finding solutions in culturally diverse contexts does not mean using a plurality of standards for judging what problems and concerns are most important to different individuals and groups. Instead, it means finding ways of creating processes that generate solutions acceptable to everyone involved. This is the way that involved residents made decisions and carried out interventions in Mountain Sights. It is also how most community group workers and public authorities arrive at a decision or action in situations where they have no choice but to work with various ethno-specific points of view.

The majority of respondents use something akin to Davidoff's plural interest group approach or Healey's collaborative approach when negotiating among different interests, ethnocultural or not. This consists of soliciting competing requests and then arriving at a "best" decision through consensus-building or through adjudication by a neutral body or method (a majority vote, a rules-book, municipal regulations, or a group leader). These are by far the most common approaches, although the problem here is that none of these respondents believe that any decision-making tool is truly neutral. Any decision rendered tends to favour one individual or group over another, which leads to frustration for the individual or group whose concerns are denied. The best example in this case involves the prioritization of potential planning actions by the Mountain Sights Residents' Association.

d) Collaboration

Collaboration between individuals and groups in different sectors emerged as being a very important part of planning and management practice in multiethnic contexts. These findings refer once again to the notion of the voice of a minority neighbourhood or group. The necessity for local level collaboration as a prerequisite for ensuring that local residents have an equal voice in determining the fate of their neighbourhood has been well noted (Allor and Spence, 2000). This process is certainly lengthier than other modes of operation, but it is the one that is often believed to lead to the highest degree of satisfaction for residents or affected people (Hillier, 1999). In our case, however, residents and community group workers feel that planning and management decisions and actions that affect 'their' neighbourhood should definitely be made in collaboration with them (or at least require their input), while three-quarters of public authorities believe that this collaboration is only necessary on occasion.

The willingness of public authorities to collaborate with local groups in a multiethnic neighbourhood seems to be conditioned by three factors. The first factor has to do with how practical it is for public authorities to target local collaboration on planning projects conceived and managed by their organizations. The second factor is the extent to which their offices or organizations are decentralized. And the third factor is the pre-existence of a working relationship between these authorities and local groups.

To be entirely fair, residents and community group workers often do not seem to realize that municipal authorities are hampered by operational constraints that condition their ability, and therefore willingness, to work collaboratively with 'locals' in order to make truly inclusive decisions. As a result, their feelings towards the decisions that are made are usually negative. Residents and community group workers tend to believe that authorities have visions of public space that are incompatible with their own (which is not necessarily true). They also believe that they have communication problems with public authorities (which is often true), and that public authorities are prejudiced against investing in minority areas (which is definitely not true). These perceptions are therefore a major hurdle that needs to be overcome on both sides. However, quite a few studies on minorities and the planning system report that these suspicions are often founded, usually with respect to prejudicial or discriminatory decisions or attitudes on the part of authorities (Skifter Anderson, 2003; Elman, 2001; Thomas, 1998; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997). It is important to note in our case that discriminatory or prejudicial perceptions of immigrant neighbourhoods do not seem to form the basis for the decisions and actions of public authorities, even if their decisions or actions can appear arbitrary, over-ethnicizing, or excessively tolerant.

e) "Partners"

Part of the problem with these types of perceptions has to do with the validity that public authorities assign to residents' groups and community-based organizations as full partners in the formal planning process. Most municipal authorities in this study report that they depend on local residents' groups and community-based organizations to bring problems to their attention. None depend on local Accès-Montréal offices to forward citizens' concerns to them. Most said that either these offices try to resolve complaints themselves or else a formal request made through these offices rarely ends up on the appropriate desk. On the contrary, all involved residents and community group workers feel that municipal authorities are not interested in what they have to say when they do try to bring problems to their attention. While several residents and community group workers and most institutional authorities understand the impact that budget cuts have had on municipal operations, they still feel that the City has abandoned its role as a "public space and environmental manager". Even though municipal authorities in this study feel constrained by lack of resources, none are willing to grant local interest groups any of their decision-making or management power over public space, unless this occurs within the

framework of existing programs (for example, the "green alleys" program, where local groups manage the conversion of unused lots into green spaces). However, municipal actors also admit that most of these programs (recreational, in particular) require that a managing non-profit organization be vetted by the city, and most small organizations cannot meet the requirements of this vetting process.

Residents and community group workers are therefore not wrong when they feel that they are viewed as "silent partners" by municipal authorities. Actors on the local side take action because they feel left out. On the other hand, municipal actors need these groups to help them determine local needs and carry out certain programs, but are unwilling to grant them more power or funding. This situation is replayed in other cities where the increasing visibility of ethnic and minority associations and lobby groups forces authorities to consider acting locally rather than centrally (Abu-Laban, 1997; Vieira, 1997; Blommaert and Martiniello, 1996). In our case, however, it seems that these dynamics between local groups and municipal authorities have less to do with ethnicity than with the desire for decision-making power.

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The perception of "making do" in a multiethnic context arises from the arbitrary nature of decisions made by municipal authorities, who are working essentially on a case-by-case basis despite the existence of an overall municipal strategy for dealing with culturally diverse situations. This arbitrariness leads to the formation of negative perceptions on the part of residents and many community group workers and institutional authorities, which provokes them to label the City 'inept' at making appropriate decisions in multiethnic contexts. Lack of guidelines and lack of a basic understanding of social realities in a multiethnic context means that decisions made by municipal planners and managers are often considered by residents and other actors to be somewhat negative towards immigrants ('over-ethnicizing'), since they appear to lack balance between the concerns of all the different interests involved. This divide becomes even greater when we look at perceptions of environmental standards and norms in a multiethnic area.

8.3.3 Standards and Norms in a Multiethnic Area

Perceptions of environmental standards and norms in a multiethnic area are important, because these form the basis on which public actors make decisions in the absence of firm and established guidelines. In other words, "making do" in a multiethnic area has a lot do to with what public authorities believe residents need and want, and with what makes the most sense for public authorities given the way that they interpret social realities in the area. This becomes doubly important in our case, since respondents hold two very different ideas about what is fair or unfair in multiethnic areas such as Mountain Sights or Côte des Neiges. The notion of public standards and norms in immigrants' home countries is often invoked on either side to explain their attitudes.

a) Immigrants and home country practices

Two groups emerge with respect to the way that social realities in a multiethnic immigrant neighbourhood are interpreted. Contrary to the expectations of the researcher, most residents of Mountain Sights feel that public authorities in general are way too tolerant of irregular uses (practices which they feel run counter to those that are socially acceptable or safe) in their neighbourhood and in Côte des Neiges as a whole. Three-quarters want authorities to enforce what they consider to be the public space and environmental standards and norms of "Canadian" society. This can range from cracking down on recalcitrant landlords to distributing fines to offending residents. As one resident put it: "once someone has to shell out a couple of hundred bucks, trust me, he'll think twice about doing it again." They believe that the same standards and norms should be applied in both multiethnic and host society neighbourhoods, be these lower or upper income neighbourhoods. This opinion is shared by a few community group workers and public authorities, although most do not agree.

The second group consists of Canadian-born residents and several residents who are very long-term immigrants, as well as the majority of community group workers and public authorities. They all believe that irregular practices found in Mountain Sights or Côte des Neiges are socially acceptable in immigrants' home countries and should be tolerated because "new immigrants don't know any better." Although municipal authorities all said that they prefer to

deal with these issues through popular education rather than enforcement of standards or by-laws, there is another side to this. First of all, popular education campaigns are usually only carried out by community-based organizations. And second, most public authorities said that they do not act at all in the great majority of cases unless residents complain. Therefore, tolerance might also be a front for an unwillingness to deal with certain realities, because doing so might end up being too time-consuming or too difficult.

Almost all residents in the first group who are immigrants disagree with this assessment. The majority feel that they held overall comportment and cleanliness standards that are similar to Canadian ones while in their home countries. They believe that residents who appear to have "backward" practices either do not care, or else come from rural areas with little exposure to the way things are done in a city. In fact, these respondents are very disappointed to discover that the municipal planning and management system in Montreal seems to replicate many of the things that they dislike about municipal systems in their home countries (inability to deal with irregular uses, inaccessibility of municipal officials, apparent disregard for lower income neighbourhoods).

For these reasons, perceptions that irregular practices in multiethnic neighbourhoods are socially acceptable in immigrants' home countries do a great disservice to many residents and immigrants. In fact, the question of irregular uses (from improper garbage disposal to unauthorized cottage industries) is a rather hot topic in many countries worldwide. For example, in New Delhi an anti-litter by-law was recently enacted that puts inspectors equipped with vans doubling as mobile courtrooms on the street to catch offenders in the act. And in major cities in China, there is quite a debate going on over ways to stop people from spitting on public streets, with authorities bowing to pressure from local Party 'neighbourhood managers' fed up with a practice they feel reflects badly on local businesses, especially those courting foreign investors. Many cities worldwide have sanitation, traffic, and public nuisance by-laws that condemn most of the irregular practices that bother residents in this study, although the effectiveness of these by-laws is certainly an issue, just as it is in Montreal.

The main difference between Canadian cities and many other cities worldwide is not the existence of irregular uses, but the existence of a strong informal sector. For example, in some countries residential garbage collection is not a municipal service. Instead, garbage is collected

by individual garbage contractors or by garbage pickers and recyclers, whom residents pay to come and pick up their household garbage every morning. The existence of such informal municipal services "sub-sectors" changes the dynamics between municipal authorities and residents somewhat, because even in contexts where the municipality does not provide adequate services, there is often another sector that does (Swilling *et al*, 2003). So when residents who are immigrants complain about the lack of enforcement of certain public space standards in their neighbourhood, they are often situating themselves in a debate that is also occurring in their home countries.

This debate over the way that standards and norms are perceived in a multiethnic neighbourhood brings us back once more to the point of contact between majority and minority, since in our case, the interface between rural and urban, or between insiders and outsiders, can be clearly seen. As Venuti (1998) reports, throughout history "urbanites" have attempted to distinguish themselves from the rural resource-pool that develops following the large-scale arrival of new immigrants. The need to put distance between themselves and new immigrants becomes more pressing when residents and authorities who identify with the norms of the host society are faced with the perception of urban anarchy resulting from the collision of different lifeways.

The point of contact between different perceptual groups is also one of hybridization. In our study, most residents, community group workers, and public authorities who are working in Côte des Neiges have environmental perceptions, standards, and norms that appear to be hybridized versions of the ones that they held or learned in their society of origin. Most immigrants in this study admit that their perceptions have altered over their years in Canada and that they have come to adopt certain "Canadian" standards and values that they did not previously have (or at least, not in the same sense or to the same degree). The reverse is true for community group workers and public authorities in this group, who all report becoming desensitized to the multiplicity of irregular uses over time, a process which some authors say creates a 'live and let live' attitude on the part of public authorities (Mitchell, 1997: 9). Therefore, what these respondents find publicly acceptable in a multiethnic area becomes modified over contact with what AlSayyad (2001) calls hybrid urban settings. On the other hand, the desire of most immigrant residents in this study to distance themselves from what they feel are backward or rural practices shows that instead of becoming desensitized to these irregular uses, they become hyper-aware of them instead.

b) Accepting irregular practices despite Canadian standards

Although the vast majority of residents believe that "Canadian" standards of cleanliness and environmental behaviour should prevail in a multiethnic neighbourhood, they also believe that practices that are very important to many residents should be tolerated and supported, even if these go against overall standards and norms. These practices are usually ones that residents feel might be disturbing to members of the host society – cottage industries, animal-rearing, and prayer groups, among others. This is interesting because many community group workers and public authorities in this study accept that these things are important to certain residents and will not report them or interfere unless other residents complain. However, they will not officially accept them by issuing occupancy permits or by supporting their operations, especially if these uses run contrary to existing by-laws or might possibly cause nuisance to other residents.

c) Confusion over standards and norms

There is considerable confusion among respondents in our sample with respect to what the current environmental standards and values of a multiethnic area might be. Although residents usually reduce culturally different standards and practices to their common denominator (most feel that different ethnic and immigrant groups in Côte des Neiges tend to have the same practices and values), community group workers and public authorities believe that different ethnic groups all have different standards and values. Public authorities also have a hard time even determining what these standards might be, and so they are wary of interfering in the private life of residents unless it is a question of personal or public safety. Because situations in multiethnic neighbourhoods are not as clear-cut as they are in host society neighbourhoods, it is harder for authorities working in a multiethnic neighbourhood to figure out what the root cause of a problematic situation might be. Confusion over what the actual standards are in multiethnic areas also leads public authorities in our study to question what by-laws or codes they should be applying. However, if these actors are confused over such issues, residents are not. The majority of residents feel that "Canadian" standards of cleanliness and good civic behaviour should be encoded and enforced in public space, while private forms of cultural expression such as certain types of economic activities, religious practices, and domestic customs should be accepted and

encouraged. Most of all, however, residents want to see "the public space standards of middle class neighbourhoods" replicated in Mountain Sights.

Four possible explanations surfaced that might help explain this confusion over standards and norms on the part of local authorities. First of all, respondents in this study all agree that public spaces in multiethnic areas like Côte des Neiges are not designed to accommodate the diversity of uses being placed on them. The problem perhaps then lies not with residents but with the spaces themselves. This explanation also emerged in other studies on public space planning and design in multiethnic contexts (Greed, 1996; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Germeraad, 1993; Burgess, Harrison, and Limb, 1988). Second, the majority of community group workers and public authorities and one quarter of residents do not believe that residents in multiethnic areas should be expected to conform to host society standards. Either residents might not know what these standards are, or else the social pressure to conform is not as strong as it would be in a host society neighbourhood. Third, all community group workers and public authorities in this study question the extent to which the state can meddle in citizens' private lives. If immigrants decide to conform to host society standards and norms, then so be it. But can governments or public authorities exert this pressure? This is a question many respondents in this group are very uncomfortable with. And fourth, almost all residents and a minority of community group workers and public authorities are unconvinced that many of the irregular uses that are said to occur in a multiethnic area are actually ethno-specific in origin. They feel that these kinds of uses also occur in many other types of neighbourhoods, particularly in lower income ones, and tend to disappear in more spacious neighbourhoods (usually more middle class ones). Similar differences in public space use between lower income and middle class multiethnic neighbourhoods have been noted before (Charbonneau, 1995; Tuttle, 1996). In this case, since irregular uses are considered to result from the interaction of class or upbringing with a very densely built urban habitat, few solutions are readily available.

d) Lack of regulatory support

The very term "Canadian standards" raises another red flag. Most public authorities feel that the current standards encoded in municipal by-laws and the regulatory framework are outdated. Therefore, they prefer to be more tolerant across the board. On the other hand, many of these irregular uses are not even accounted for under the regulatory framework. Even if authorities wanted to try and address them, there are no options available. Many respondents in all sectors (particularly those with the City of Montreal) believe that public spaces in Montreal were designed for a value system that is very different from the one that currently exists. This limits the ability of many municipal authorities to make decisions that are "in the public interest", since they no longer know what the public interest might be. This type of uncertainty is normal in societies that are becoming more culturally complex, since the uses being demanded of public space no longer coincide with the social context that gave rise to the institutional and administrative framework that governs them (AlSayyad and Bristol, 1992).

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This debate over the standards, norms, and values that should or should not preside over public space affects planning and management decision-making because it creates confusion and uncertainty among actors. This in turn leads to the formation of perceptions regarding "best practices" in multiethnic contexts that may not be valid or in the best interest of local populations. The perceived arbitrariness of decisions and the practice of "turning a blind eye" to irregular uses leads either to solutions that are considered to be over-ethnicizing (somewhat discriminatory towards minorities) or else to solutions that are unable to address the commonly-shared concerns of different ethnocultural interest groups. More importantly, respondents have generated many solutions for sorting though this confusion which they feel might help render the formal planning and management process more inclusive and better targeted to the social realities of multiethnic areas.

8.4 SOLUTIONS PROPOSED FOR MORE INCLUSIVE MUNICIPAL PLANNING

The vast majority of respondents agree on the types of solutions that could be implemented to help render the formal planning and management process better suited to the social realities of multiethnic areas. Respondents might emphasize certain points in particular, but the important thing is that the basic outline of a more sensitive and appropriate planning process has emerged from these findings. This outline consists of four main components: the importance of political will, the creation of transcultural value sets, the inclusion of all interests, and the importance of local level decision-making and power sharing.

8.4.1 The Importance of Political Will

None of the respondents who provided responses on this topic feels that the existing planning and management process needs to be rebuilt, merely renovated. This coincides with a 'toning down' that is currently taking place in the multicultural planning literature with respect to recommendations that existing planning structures be completely torn down and replaced (Friedmann, 2002; Sandercock, 2000, 2003a).

One of the most significant observations that emerged from analysis of our findings is that renewal of political structures such as the municipal planning process takes political will. Political will is important because actors who do not personally believe that planning in function of diversity is important will do so if that is what their mandate requires. Political will also determines the amount and type of resources given over to planning and managing in multiethnic areas. Fewer resources means that public decision-makers are less inclined to be receptive to different needs and concerns in a multiethnic area, mainly because they feel that they are not able to provide a sufficiently high quality of services since the intensity of use coupled with irregular practices adds another dimension to their daily operations. If political will exists, then decision-makers will have the impetus and resources needed to devise practices and procedures that might render the existing planning process more appropriate to current social realities over time.

8.4.2 The Creation of Transcultural Value Sets

Doing planning in a culturally diverse context does not mean addressing every possible ethno-specific concern or request, since all respondents believe that this is fundamentally impossible. As we have seen, the feeling of being overwhelmed by different uses and practices leads many actors (residents and authorities alike) to practice a "blindness to difference" or to make decisions based on stereotypes of ethnic or minority groups. Therefore, one of the most important findings to emerge from our analysis is the idea that collectively-shared values exist in a multiethnic neighbourhood of any size, regardless of the number of different ethnocultural groups that reside or work there. These collectively-shared values may differ from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, but can apparently be discerned fairly easily. These collectively-shared values can be grouped together in what might be called a 'transcultural value set' that is applicable for a given context over a given period of time. The existence of a transcultural value set does not mean that everyone in a neighbourhood wants the same things, only that what they want has a common denominator.

Many respondents are very clear on how such transcultural value sets can be determined, and we will borrow their procedures, since these procedures are very similar from respondent to respondent. Each value set contains the common denominators of all the more specific concerns and values of different cultural and interest groups in a neighbourhood. Determining a common denominator means finding the common thread that links certain concerns or values together. For example, in a given neighbourhood, some individuals might feel very strongly that women in their ethnic community require protection from male harassment in the form of spaces that are enclosed by means of fencing or landscaping. Other individuals might feel that there are few places in a park to commune with nature or to talk with a small group of friends in private. And yet others might wish to have a decorative garden in the neighbourhood, since they come from contexts where these are very important public space features. These different concerns have a common denominator – all these individuals wish to be able to enjoy a garden-type feature in public space that is separated or isolated from the rest of the space in question. The existence of this common denominator allows a planner or decision-maker to arrive at a single solution that will satisfy all concerns. In our case, the solution might be a fully or semi-enclosed section in a public park that is nicely landscaped with decorative hedges and flowers and includes several benches that are arranged either parallel or perpendicular to each other. By maintaining some

lines of visibility to the rest of the park, it would satisfy municipal requirements governing the safety of public spaces, while still providing users with the perception of privacy.

This procedure is followed for many other different concerns and issues in a multiethnic neighbourhood until one arrives at a fairly comprehensive list. For example, a very general transcultural value set for Mountain Sights might include an emphasis on public sociability and being outside, public spaces as individual backyards (public space that is 'owned' by residents), particular family values (the extended family, child-oriented society), a great concern for public safety, an emphasis on agricultural (not rural) practices, the desire for an environment that resembles that of middle class neighbourhoods in terms of appearance, intolerance for spatial practices that dirty the environment, greater acceptance of mixed uses or community-oriented uses, and a need for alternative public and semi-public recreational and leisure spaces.

These types of value sets cannot be fixed for more than a certain number of years, in order to account for population changes and different immigrant flows. This means that they need to be reassessed within a given time-frame. This reassessment can occur through several different means, including collaborative efforts between all relevant interests (residents, building owners, institutions, businesses, non-profit groups, public authorities, etc.), community or interest group surveys, or public meetings that succeed in operating inclusively and attracting participants.

Adopting the perspective of the transcultural value set allows practitioners to replace the comforting idea of the common public interest with a similar type of notion that still manages to represent the great diversity of interests and concerns in a multiethnic context.

8.4.3 Inclusion of all Interests

Respondents all agree that municipal planners and managers need to adopt the approaches used at the grassroots level in order to be able to work effectively and inclusively in multiethnic contexts. While residents did not use the words "collaborative" or "community development", their solutions resemble the way that these approaches are described in the planning literature (Healey, 1997; Sandercock, 1998a, for example). On the other hand, community group workers and public authorities often use these particular words, in addition to other similar terms (integrated approach or multi-level approach). The community development type solutions that

all these respondents suggest resemble appreciative planning models, which are used as part of interventionist development models favoured by NGO's in North America and abroad. Appreciative planning models include components such as jump-starting, plugging-in, leadership, alliance-building, and collaboration. These components are designed to encourage and support mutual understanding, local initiative, and partnership with different actors in multiethnic contexts (Ameyaw, 2000). These steps therefore involve definition of concerns and stakeholder identification, mobilization of local groups and leaders, community confidence-building, cross-cultural communication, consensus-building, and negotiated outcomes.

The emphasis on cross-cultural communication, cultural awareness, and reflective praxis coincides with the recommendations of scholars calling for a more inclusive planning practice (Thompson, 2003; Sandercock, 2003a; Burayidi, 2000; Thomas, 2000). Cultural awareness refers to first hand experience of the different groups that inhabit a particular neighbourhood. In our case, this suggests that actors who have this first hand experience should be called upon during all types of planning meetings and activities concerning the neighbourhood in question. Reflective praxis, as per Donald Schon (1983), is practice in which personal values and prejudices need to be acknowledged, not because they are wrong but because they exist and influence the way one perceives, and therefore reacts to, the world and people's behaviour within it. Therefore, inclusion of all interests (this does not mean accommodation of all interests, however) depends on three things: approaches that are designed to include all stakeholders or interests, cross-cultural communication skills and awareness of the social realities under consideration, and admission of prejudices and discussion of different perceptions.

8.4.4 Local Level Decision-Making and Power Sharing

A local level focus is key, according to almost all respondents. Our findings echo those of Nunn (1991), who argues that planning is a human activity, not one that is limited to professionals. In our study, projects and activities that are deemed successful have usually been conceived or developed by local actors. In the planning literature, actions that are considered to be the most inclusive all seem to involve coalition-building between actors such as local residents, community group workers, public authorities, industries, and institutions (Bays, 1998; Lo Piccolo, 1997; Mehta, 1997; Tacher and Mondragon Padilla, 1997; Jacobs, 1996; Clark, 1996). In fact, Amin's (2002) notions of micro-publics and agonistic politics can be extended to our

case, since micro-publics are the loci of successful planning actions in the multiethnic neighbourhood of Mountain Sights.

Cross-sectional analysis shows that there is a certain disconnection between planning efforts at the municipal level and those initiated by actors at the local level. Increasing the representation of the local on formal planning and public consultation instances is not a solution desired by any local respondent, for these forums are considered to be ineffective. It definitely does not mean increasing the number of individuals of specific ethnocultural or minority origin on these public forums, even though this is a key recommendation of many multicultural planning thinkers who believe that this will help ensure that public authorities become more sensitive to cultural diversity (Burayidi, 2003; Greed, 1999; Qadeer, 1997). However, our findings show that being an immigrant or belonging to an ethnic minority group does not increase an individual's sensitivity or understanding of other groups, including his own. As Vertovec (1999: 27) notes:

> "The sheer fact that a specific self-conscious group has a person sitting in some kind of public forum does not mean a) that the group's views are being adequately voiced or responded to, or b) that in addition to the likely symbolic value of such representation, some material benefit to the group will accrue. For the latter, a structural adjustment in political power must take place."

The solution lies in coalition politics, which many respondents feel will force attention back to the local, giving local voices greater political weight. This does not mean creating yet another local inter-sectorial committee, since these committees are believed to bypass existing grassroots organizations, replicating the same inequalities that existed before (Maestas and Gonzales, 1999). They also run the risk of being converted into consultative bodies, which allows municipal administrators to feel that they are including ethnic minorities in the public consultation process even if these instances are basically for show (witness the criticism levelled by Abu-Laban, 1997, against Vancouver's citizen circles). The 'local approach' highlighted in our study is considered to include built-in procedures for local inclusion and participation at the level of the neighbourhood. Therefore, such a process does away with the need for consultation between residents, local groups, and higher authorities, since all these actors will be working together at key points in the process.

Mechanisms for ensuring democracy are also considered to play a significant role in this type of approach. Many respondents pointed out that decisions made by local groups are not necessarily any more democratic or fair to all interest groups in the area than decisions occurring at a higher level. The idea of neutral arbitration between interest groups is therefore very important. This means that local level collaborative practices need to be able to walk the tightrope between collectively-shared values (or transcultural values), current planning regulations, and the particular needs of individuals and interest groups. As Forester (1999a) notes, failing to develop such strategies means that the people with the power to determine what is right or wrong for the neighbourhood in question usually end up being those who have little understanding of local social realities and no vested interest in the neighbourhood at all.

This type of solution is doubly important in neighbourhoods that are less well-to-do, according to all our respondents. First of all, many feel that the ethno-specific problems encountered in middle and upper class areas tend to be more conflictual (a large mosque under construction in a host society residential area, for example). Second, most respondents (especially municipal authorities) noted that most middle class areas on the Island of Montreal are located outside the jurisdiction of the City of Montreal in smaller (and sometimes formerly autonomous) municipalities, which have always had their own municipal administrations, planning policies, and council meetings. These smaller municipalities are believed to be more attuned to the concerns of their citizens, although contestable cases will always exist. The sense of being excluded from the municipal planning and decision-making process is not as prevalent in wealthier neighbourhoods and municipalities (Rabrenovic, 1996; Mann, 1987; Porter, 1965). However, this does not mean that official planning in these contexts is any more inclusive of ethnocultural diversity, as studies on Canadian planning practice have demonstrated (Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Wallace, 1999). Any form of difference in public space merely stands out much more in these contexts, especially if it conflicts with the character of the existing socio-spatial fabric. Therefore, while collaborative approaches are useful in more well-to-do contexts in terms of negotiation and consensus-building among different cultural and other interest groups, the need for community development type approaches is not as strong.

8.5 RELEVANCE FOR PLANNING

Our findings are relevant for planning and municipal management in multiethnic contexts because they corroborate, and negate, many findings of North American and European scholars on the subject, and offer solutions to certain dilemmas that have arisen in the literature. Our findings have emerged from one particular case study on a multiethnic neighbourhood. Without comparing them to similar findings in other types of neighbourhoods, we have no way of firmly stating that they are applicable to all multiethnic contexts. However, we can extract several general principles based on the types of interactions and perceptions at work in this single case that might prove useful.

8.5.1 Working with Cultural Diversity is not Complicated

First, and perhaps most importantly, our findings show that cultural diversity does not equate with chaos. The feeling of being overwhelmed and unable to deal with multiple demands and viewpoints is very common among public authorities in our study. This feeling also appears to be common among municipal planners and managers in many Canadian, American, Australian, and European cities (Thompson, 2003; Amin, 2002; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Allen and Cars, 2001; Burayidi, 2000; Frisken and Wallace, 2000), and is a growing issue in other world cities (Lim, 2001; Douglass and Roberts, 2000; Yiftachel, 2000; Denoon *et al*, 1996). The response in such cases usually tends to be 'blindness to difference'. Our findings show that dealing with cultural diversity does not mean dealing with an overwhelming number of different opinions and needs. Operating effectively in such a context simply means finding a common denominator between all these different concerns and values through the formation of transcultural value sets. This procedure can also help decision-makers make decisions on the merits of individual ethno-specific requests, since they will not be weighing these requests against what they believe to be the overall values of the host society (the common public interest), but against those of the neighbourhood or district in question.

8.5.2 Misperceptions Hinder Inclusive Planning

Perceptions play an enormous role in determining the way that planning and management decisions and actions will be carried out. This is the challenge of taking diversity seriously. Our study suggests that "us versus them" perceptions usually develop because actors misunderstand each other's intentions and actions. More importantly, negative perceptions of minority or immigrant neighbourhoods emerged as being a very problematic issue. Residents feel that public authorities and many other actors do not want to invest in a multiethnic neighbourhood or acquiesce to residents' requests because immigrants are "easy to ignore" or because immigrants and minorities "can't look after their neighbourhood". Conversely, many public authorities and community group workers often have no idea what residents' concerns are or even how to begin finding out what these concerns might be. Discriminatory or pejorative attitudes certainly do affect planning decisions, but they also affect the decisions taken by residents involved in grassroots planning actions. As other authors have remarked (Baum, 2000; Sandercock, 2003a), negative perceptions of others are very hard to overcome in a planning process unless the overall formal or regulatory framework specifically addresses these perceptions, or unless actors are able to arrive at some sort of mutual understanding through collaborative exercises (Baum, 2000; Vertovec, 1999).

8.5.3 Dealing with Ethno-Specific Cases and Multiethnic Contexts is not the Same Thing

Dealing with cultural diversity seems to take on a heightened meaning in multiethnic neighbourhoods, especially if these are 'lower income' or immigrant reception neighbourhoods. The issues facing planning and management in these contexts involve more than just making decisions between the demands of different ethnic groups, since environmental concerns and practices related to diverse groups are intertwined with a high density and sometimes degraded built environment where space is at a premium. In addition, there is the added dimension of a constant influx of new immigrants who are not necessarily familiar with the way that urban life unfolds in a North American context. On the Island of Montreal, many of these neighbourhoods are located within the Island's largest municipality, the City of Montreal (Germain, 1999; Germain *et al*, 1995). The City of Montreal's municipal apparatus appears inaccessible for many local actors in this study (residents and community group workers alike). It also seems to be ill-

equipped for providing a similar quality of services in both multiethnic and host society areas, in comparison with smaller municipal administrations on the Island of Montreal that are believed to be closer to their citizens. Planning for inclusion in multiethnic contexts is by all accounts a very different thing than weighing the merits of ethno-specific development proposals (Asian malls in the Toronto area, for example) or mediating between host society members and newer immigrant groups over the form that a neighbourhood will take (as in the case of "monster homes" in the Vancouver area). Therefore, it also requires a different mindset and a different set of solutions.

8.5.4 Being Culturally Neutral is Better Than Being Overly Aware of Difference

It appears that being culturally neutral is more beneficial when doing planning in multiethnic contexts than being overly aware of ethnic differences. In this study, actors who have very strong opinions and perceptions of other ethnic groups are those who have the most difficulty taking difference seriously. Those who see all ethnic groups as merely another type of interest group are those who report having the least difficulty operating or carrying out activities in a culturally diverse context, or of working collaboratively with local groups to arrive at satisfactory solutions. This point is interesting because in the planning and political science literature, planners and municipal managers are often exhorted to view ethnic groups as being more than just interest groups and to assign their cultural difference added significance (Baum, 2000; Young, 2000; Burayidi, 2000; Vertovec, 1999; Qadeer, 1997). Our findings contradict this viewpoint, since they suggest that it is better to assign all forms of social difference equal validity within a procedural framework that is conducive to this way of thinking instead of singling out one form of difference for "special treatment".

8.5.5 Planning in Multiethnic Contexts Requires an Internationalist Perspective

There is little in our study to indicate that immigrants wish to retain the public spaces uses, practices, and visions that they held in their home countries. The problem is that most public authorities in this study believe that they do, with varying results. It appears that immigrants (at least those who participated in this study) do adopt what they feel are the overall public space values and norms of the 'host society' over time (five years on average), although they retain certain aspects of public space use that might be called culturally-based. More importantly, the majority of immigrants in this study compare planning approaches in Canada with those in their

home countries quite regularly, and are not always satisfied with the outcome. Most find that public authorities in Montreal are not any better at dealing with life in a multiethnic district than are public authorities in their home countries, and are not necessarily any more accessible. As well, many miss the fact that planning officials in their home countries are sometimes more flexible in their application of planning regulations.

The relevance for planning is clear. Not all the practices and uses made of public space in a multiethnic neighbourhood are ethno-specific, nor are residents' concerns. Even if immigrants do not necessarily wish to retain the overall public space uses and features of their home countries, certain aspects still remain important to them. Groups that request ethno-specific items (monuments, commemorative parks, facilities for an ethnic sports league) feel very strongly about retaining these elements of their home culture. However, the hybridization of viewpoints that occurs over the immigrant settlement process means that certain environmental features (such as mixed uses in a residential area) remain desirous despite the adoption of overall "Canadian" environmental standards. Nonetheless, residents still wish to subject these uses to what they feel are Canadian nuisance and safety norms.

Our findings therefore suggest that Canadian planning and municipal practice could benefit from examining the practices, successes, and failures of planners and municipal managers worldwide, in addition to studying the ways that public spaces are designed, managed, and lived in these different contexts. Many multicultural planners recognize the validity of this, as their case studies on places like Porto Alegre show (Abers, 1998; Sandercock, 1998a). However, our findings demonstrate that we need to move beyond these isolated cases to the wider realm of municipal practice and politics. As several respondents noted, there are people everywhere dealing with similar issues (from cities experiencing an influx of rural migrants to those dealing with international immigration) who can help us devise solutions or share their experience.

8.5.6 Political Will and Detailed Guidelines are Absolutely Essential

Municipal or institutional policies and strategies meant to guide decision-making and practice in culturally diverse situations are of little use unless these strategies are accompanied by a firm political will and detailed internal step-by-step guidelines or programs for working in these contexts. This point is important because it suggests that studies that link the mere existence of municipal cultural diversity policies to the sensitivity of public authorities to difference (such as Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993) are only accounting for one part of the problem. On the other hand, our findings support those of Germain *et al* (2003) for Montreal area municipalities in general. Germain *et al* (2003) note that many of the municipal cultural diversity policies or strategies examined in their study emphasize the need for immigrants to integrate into the host society, as opposed to supporting ethno-specific differences *per se*. It may be that this way of formulating cultural diversity strategies is particular to the province of Quebec, although many of the cultural diversity or race relations 'policies' existing in municipalities outside of the City of Toronto seem to have similar features (Frisken and Wallace, 2000). Therefore, it appears that specific types of diversity policies and supporting programs are necessary in our case. Depending on the context, these policies might require that equal attention be given to cultural differences in general, from ethno-specific concerns to the realities of multiethnic neighbourhoods. As our results suggest, however, the best policy orientation seems to be one that requires that equal treatment and specific measures be devoted to a range of social differences within a more collaborative and interactionist administrative framework.

Many other issues also arose in this study that are worthy of consideration, but the points that have been highlighted in this section are the ones that have the greatest overall relevance for planning. In our concluding chapter, we will see how these points fit in with our research questions and how they might assist in the development of a more inclusive planning and management process and practice.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION AND A WAY FORWARD

Our research project findings demonstrate that planning and municipal management in multiethnic contexts is challenged on several fronts, from dilemmas of the public interest to attitudes towards cultural difference. They also provide a glimpse at how potential solutions to these dilemmas might be devised. Our analysis allows us to corroborate and question some of the notions put forward by scholars in the multicultural planning tradition by highlighting several difficulties with the way planning for cultural diversity is conceptualized. Over the course of our discussion in the previous chapter, it emerged that inclusive planning and municipal management in multiethnic contexts is definitely achievable. This has therefore allowed us to contribute towards the elaboration of a more inclusive planning framework, and to make practical recommendations that may be helpful for municipal managers and planners working in multiethnic contexts. In addition, identification of the more universal characteristics of our case study shows that many of our conclusions and recommendations are transferable to a range of planning and political situations and theorizations.

9.1 RECONSIDERING HOW PLANNING IS DONE IN MULTIETHNIC CONTEXTS

Studies on the challenges faced by planning and municipal management in culturally diverse contexts have pinpointed certain issues as being especially problematic. These include: the difficulties of doing planning in 'disadvantaged' contexts; competing claims over public space; notions of public interest and equity; attitudes towards difference; and a disconnection between municipal cultural diversity policies and practices on the ground. All of these challenges emerged in our study, in addition to others that also have a considerable effect on daily planning and municipal practice. These challenges intersect with one another to create new directions for planning in four main ways. The first relates to the way public space is perceived and planned in multiethnic contexts. The second involves a movement away from ethno-specific differences towards collectively-shared values and practices (transcultural value sets). The third has to do with what we call "fault-lines", or spaces where different world-views and procedures interact. And lastly, the fourth has to do with the question of "best practices" in a heterogeneous context.

9.1.1 Re-Conceptualizing Public Spaces

Our first set of research questions (discussed in section 1.5.2) were directed at finding out how uses, preferences, expectations, and visions of public space interact with one another and affect planning decisions. Our findings have demonstrated that, in our case at least, public spaces in multiethnic neighbourhoods have certain characteristics that appear to set them apart from public spaces in less diverse neighbourhoods. Most of these characteristics have to do with roles and uses that seem to be hybridized versions of those held by individuals belonging to the different ethnic groups residing in a multiethnic neighbourhood, melded in with what might be called "host society" ones. Public spaces in these contexts are also affected by, and play a role in, the immigrant settlement trajectory. In addition, the effect of increasing population pressure on a limited number of spaces in a densely built environment is not negligible. This latter point puts the specificity of public spaces in multiethnic areas into question somewhat, since this type of habitat is also found in other inner city neighbourhoods, be these multiethnic and immigrant reception neighbourhoods (Germain, 1999) or lower income ones (Tuttle, 1996). Nevertheless, a major issue for planning that emerged from our study involves the diversification and hybridization of uses and concerns that exist in a multiethnic neighbourhood, which most likely are not found to the same degree in a more culturally homogeneous one.

Perceptions of 'others', be these overly ethnicizing or more culturally neutral perceptions, often determine the extent to which actors involved in local space management will accommodate culturally-specific needs and concerns in their daily actions. Our study showed that more culturally neutral actors appear to be better equipped for working with local dynamics and specific uses in a multiethnic context, while actors who are overly aware of difference tend to exhibit a lack of interest in dealing with these sorts of dynamics or uses. Culturally neutral does not mean unaware of difference, it means that actors holding this type of perspective are simply more open to all forms of difference and give all interest groups equal validity in the planning process. They are not necessarily more sensitive or knowledgeable about different cultural realities, nor are they advocates for the interests of minorities. However, they do acknowledge the fact that diverse people and groups have interests and concerns that all bear consideration. This observation has not been mentioned in the literature, and is one that bears further research.

In our case, however, ethno-specific preferences and uses of public space are not granted much consideration by any of the actors involved in the local planning process, from residents to authorities. Part of the problem lies in the vetting process that occurs before a request is made or approved. Local actors believe that public space concerns that are too ethno-specific are likely be refused by municipal authorities, and do not even submit them for consideration. On the other hand, many of the more culturally neutral (or 'host society') requests submitted to public authorities have also been refused on the basis that they conflict with the overall reality of public spaces in a multiethnic or immigrant area. These messages are highly confusing. Does this same confusion and arbitrariness prevail in host society neighbourhoods or other contexts? If it does not, then planning and municipal management has some work to do on this issue, since this type of arbitrariness might appear to have discriminatory undertones. The notion of confusion over values has been discussed by several Canadian researchers (Qadeer, 1997; Qadeer and Chaudhry, 1999; Frisken and Wallace, 2000), but would bear theoretical incorporation into the canon of multicultural planning.

The second part of the problem lies in the twinning of immigrant settlement and neighbourhood disadvantage issues. In our case, the trajectory of immigrant integration is similar to that of neighbourhood integration, a concept already discussed in the literature on class and power in the city (Boston and Ross, 1997). According to mainstream immigrant integration models, upon arrival immigrants are most concerned about the basics of survival – housing, employment, education for their children. Once these matters are settled, they can turn their attention to other facets of urban life, such as environmental activism or political participation (Boal, 1996). However, by the time immigrants in our study reach the point where they feel comfortable lobbying for more culturally-specific requests, they also seem to have reached the point where they are no longer sure if these things are truly necessary, since overcoming neighbourhood disadvantage has become more important for them.

Ethno-specific requests occurring above and beyond the level of the neighbourhood are a different matter. As our findings show, there is a difference between ethno-specific requests and public space management in a multiethnic context. While dealing with ethno-specific requests can pose certain problems for public authorities, other issues seem to be more insidious, such as the place accorded to minority groups, disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and different public space

conceptions within the 'formal' planning process. As Qadeer and Chaudhry (1999) suggest, controversies erupting over culturally-specific uses (such as ethnic places of worship) or certain symbols (the *hijab*) are merely the aftershocks felt when very different cultures collide with one another in urban space. The effect is more severe than it needs to be in cities such as Montreal, where our findings suggest that the existing planning framework provides decision-makers with little guidance on how to negotiate these changing public space uses and conceptions. It might make more sense for research to concentrate less on "controversies" and more on the notion of rendering planning better able to deal with change, which in essence is what planning is theoretically supposed to do (Alexander, 1998). In addition, greater emphasis should be placed on the notion of fairness and inclusion during decision-making procedures, within a framework where more powerful groups are not permitted to monopolize proceedings, as planning scholars in the associationalist tradition such as Healey (1997) also suggest. The notions of class and disadvantage therefore need to be brought to the forefront of multicultural planning thinking.

Our findings on public space use and perceptions in multiethnic contexts suggest that the model within which municipal public space planning and management is currently conceived and acted upon is probably not the one that can provide the most appropriate solutions to current dilemmas. As we saw previously, conceptions of public space planning and design used in municipal and professional planning are modular, even though actors who work in multiethnic areas are well aware that public spaces in these contexts are characterized not by the separation of uses, but by the superimposition of uses. This phenomenon also exists at the level of service delivery, since public space and environmental problems in multiethnic neighbourhoods tend to have overlapping causes – population density, large numbers of newly-arrived immigrants, lack of resources at the municipal level, culturally-based practices. This suggests that we need to re-conceptualize public spaces in multiethnic contexts, both in the literature and in practice, in a way that reflects the realities of layering (superimposition of uses and meanings), the particular characteristics of public spaces in multiethnic contexts, and the interaction between social realities and a densely-built environment (particularly in inner city multiethnic neighbourhoods).

9.1.2 Going Beyond Ethnic Group Differences to Collective Groupings

Many of our research questions touched on the dilemma of accounting for multiple interests and culturally-based concerns in multiethnic contexts. This dilemma appears to be at the root of many problems that planners and municipal managers in our study have when confronted by cultural diversity, from "blindness to difference" to an inability to move beyond the notion of the common public interest. Our study shows that we should focus less on ethnic group specificities and more on the idea of multiple publics or the meta-culture under which many different ethnoculturally-based viewpoints intersect and interact in a multiethnic context. While this meta-cultural approach usually refers to the collectively-shared values (or transcultural value sets) of a multiethnic neighbourhood, it can also refer to the notion of inclusion in the planning and decision-making process. Focusing only on ethno-specific differences does not help planners figure out why they should be accepting or working with one specificity as opposed to another, because the backdrop of what is acceptable or reasonable in a particular multiethnic context is missing.

Inclusion in the planning process is perhaps the more important notion. Inclusion can refer alternately to the idea of accounting for ethnic group differences or ethno-specific demands, or to the question of who holds power and thus the ability to make decisions that influence the outcome of public space. Theoretically, immigrants' exposure to the social and political dynamics of their new urban context should play a role in determining their ability to participate in formal political instances. However, our study shows that this exposure does not always translate into inclusion in these more formal political instances. It appears that perceptions of Others and the Self held by individuals belonging to many different groups may exert more of an influence over inclusion than do structural mechanisms. Residents belonging to ethnocultural and ethno-racial minority groups in our study feel that they are excluded from, or only partially included in, the municipal planning process for many reasons, although all have a very keen sense of what is available to host society groups or wealthier neighbourhoods. Many public space uses and concerns in a multiethnic area cross interest group and cultural group lines, leading to a situation where individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups in a minority neighbourhood find themselves lobbying collectively for a better quality of services and environment by means of agonistic political procedures. This supports the idea that one of the

issues at stake may be the unwillingness of individuals belonging to more established groups (from residents to municipal authorities and private sector interests) to treat minorities and minority neighbourhoods as equals in the planning process. Structural barriers to inclusion in the planning and municipal decision-making process are a preferred topic of discussion among many scholars (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Friedmann, 2002), and yet the very real inner barriers to power and decision-making presented by perceptions of others are rarely tackled in the literature.

Another important notion to emerge on this topic relates to ideas of the public interest. When planning concerns are perceived as being particularist (particular to only one ethnocultural group and not to another), then dealing with these multiple concerns appears impossible, and therefore undesirable, since the public interest might be compromised as a result. This supports the idea that multiculturalism models that emphasize ethnocultural differences above all other forms of "groupness" create divisiveness, perpetuating inequalities and competitiveness between different groups within the society at large (Parekh, 2000). Trying to deal with multiple ethnocultural groups seems to create the perception of an unmanageable situation for many actors, whereas thinking in terms of multiple publics or broader meta-cultural collectivities above and beyond the "ethnic group" can help planning overcome the barriers to equity that notions of a common public interest present within a multiethnic context. This is a very important direction for future research, for it helps resolve the dilemma of public interest as well as the problem of ensuring equity within a multiple publics perspective.

This brings us back to the idea of plural group interests. This is a problematic aspect of authors' thinking under the new paradigm, because the thinking on plural group interests in the new liberal discourse on justice and equality tends to oppose bounded ethnic or minority groups with host society majority groups. Our study findings show that culturally-based conceptions of public space held by immigrants living in a multiethnic neighbourhood have already evolved from those that they held in their home countries, by the simple act of having immigrated. Once in Canada and living in a highly multiethnic neighbourhood, immigrants' conceptions mutate again over the course of interaction with members of the host society, established immigrant groups, and new immigrant groups. At this point, one can no longer speak about culturally-based uses and conceptions of public space as though they are static and reflective of an immigrant's culture of origin, since they are already uses and conceptions existing in translation. Therefore, it makes more sense to substitute a bounded conception of the ethnic group with one based on

notions of cultural complexity (Hannerz, 1996) or hybridity (AlSayyad, 2004), since these draw from the observation that cultures and individuals mutate and evolve through contact and over time. This eliminates the need to analyze planning cases according to ethno-specific user groups in situations where the focus can be shifted to meta-cultural perspectives and collectively-shared concerns.

9.1.3 Working Along the Fault-Lines

The interaction of different world-views and planning approaches has a considerable effect on planning decision-making and outcomes, as our study findings have demonstrated. More importantly, neutral spaces exist where these different perspectives and customs can somehow be transmitted to other groups, which bridges the gap between cultural Others in a planning action. The importance of what we call fault-lines (which are quite similar to Amin's (2002) micro-publics or spaces of cultural transgression) lies in the fact that these are instances where diverse groups in a multiethnic context intersect and are forced to deal with one another, since these become learning opportunities for all involved.

There are several fault-lines that emerged over the course of our study. The first occurs during the local planning process in Mountain Sights, where residents and other actors first meet up with one another. In this case, the perceptions of many public actors and residents have changed as a result of involvement in local actions. This supports the idea that working along these fault-lines "decentres the centre", shifting the reference frame in which planning actions are conceptualized (Narayan and Harding, 2000).

The second fault-line is less tangible, and has to do with the intersection between immigrants' experiences in their home countries and their planning experiences in Canada. The similarities and differences between planning systems and procedures in Montreal and in immigrants' home countries come into play quite regularly here. Our findings show that ways of dealing with cultural diversity in other world cities may not necessarily be all that different from the *modus operandi* of municipal actors in Canadian cities such as Montreal. Planning systems all over the formerly colonial world are often based on administrative systems that were set up by colonial governments, and in places where colonialism did not reach, the influence of modern planning thinkers and 'experts' on local planning thought cannot be discounted (Post and Baud, 2002).

Globalization is a two-way street – just as planning in North American cities is being transformed under the influence of international immigration, so have planning systems in many other countries been influenced by Euro-American planning thought. However, it appears that in many other world cities, especially in culturally diverse ones, planning systems may be more flexible at the formal level with respect to permit issuance and acceptance of culturally different uses and requests.

The same is also true for the community development type approaches used by various actors in our study. Models that are based on international development approaches are often used by community group workers in our study site, and were also used by many involved residents in their home countries. One interesting feature to emerge in this respect is the idea of the village council, which to some extent seems to be based on dynamics of collaboration and consensus-building, although issues of power and class are certainly present. Therefore, the idea that Canadian planners and municipal manager should learn from the experiences of other cities and planning efforts in multiethnic contexts worldwide is very important.

Our findings on the issue of fault-lines stress the importance of increasing the voice of individuals belonging to minority groups through creation of instances where open dialogue between all stakeholders can occur. This type of recommendation is made by many authors in the multicultural planning tradition as well (Healey, 1997, for example). One of the major conclusions that emerged from this study therefore has to do with the significance of modalities where inter-group and inter-level collaboration or discussion can take place. These modalities are all sites of mutual learning and reflection, as Amin (2002) mentions. In our case, many actors who have found themselves working along these 'fault-lines' have come away with greater knowledge about themselves, others, and the realities of working in a multiethnic context.

9.1.4 Best Practices

Our final set of research questions was designed to help determine what "best practices" (practices that are appropriate and just) in culturally diverse contexts might entail. Most of these questions were answered in Chapter 8, but four main points bear mention. First of all, the disconnection between the existence of municipal cultural diversity strategies and the way municipal planning and management is actually practised on a daily basis can be addressed by ensuring a greater coherence between policy and practice, which will require political will. Second, the dilemma of the public interest and equity in multiethnic contexts can perhaps be resolved by using the notion of transcultural value sets. Third, the question of appropriate decisions very likely involves instituting agonistic political procedures that require a certain degree of decentralization of decision-making authority and devolution of responsibility to local political communities. This assumes the participation of local stakeholders. As this study shows, however, getting stakeholders in an immigrant or multiethnic context to identify themselves and to become involved is not a simple matter. This confirms the idea held by many scholars in the multicultural planning tradition that collaborative exercises and endeavours at a very small scale are one way of overcoming these barriers to participation (Baum, 2000; Sandercock, 1998a; Friedmann, 1992a; Amin, 2002).

And lastly, the question of having to account for multiple interests was also addressed in this study. The idea of redirecting the focus away from ethnocultural specificities towards all forms of social diversity means that 'best practices' involve one very simple action: attention to all forms of social difference. However, decision-makers will still have to prioritize their actions in function of the value that they assign to diverse forms of social difference. Avoiding arbitrariness and a return to notions of the common public interest suggest that mediation between different interest groups needs to be entrenched at the level of municipal policy and program development. The nature of municipal politics is such that an ideal and equitable treatment of all forms of social difference is not likely, at least over an extended period of time, unless sustained pressure is maintained by outside lobby groups. Therefore, the issue facing planning is perhaps not the dilemma of inclusion of cultural diversity but the responsiveness of planning systems to social diversity and to citizens' concerns in general. Concentrating only on the ethno-specific nature of certain planning problems without situating them within the context of the collectively-

shared values or meta-culture of a multiethnic area can lead to decisions based solely on the public interest as defined by the host society, since planners might feel that there is no other way to treat social differences equitably in the planning process.

Dealing with urban planning and municipal management matters in a more culturally inclusive way therefore requires action at two different levels. The first involves developing overall policies or guidelines for helping municipal planners make decisions in culturally complex situations. The second involves pinpointing specific areas where new or innovative procedures are needed. This level of action is very important, since it determines the fields of intervention that should be accounted for in policy and related programs. These specific areas should definitely include all situations where individuals belonging to one group feel that their interests are being overlooked or overridden (the siting of a large superstore in a neighbourhood of small ethnic family-owned stores and the fear of being put out of business, for example). In addition, these specific planning action areas should include the following: public participation, public space use and concerns, housing, environmental quality, neighbourhood issues, cultural and recreational facilities, compatible or incompatible uses and nuisance, and development or use permission. The dilemma facing many authors in the multicultural planning paradigm is that issues of difference, equality, justice, and inclusion stretch well out beyond the boundaries of planning practice to include things such as the barriers faced by new immigrants and visible minorities in the workforce. While these issues are important, they are not necessarily urban planning matters nor even municipal management matters (except at an internal level), and do not have to be included in this type of list.

Since developing overall policies and guidelines takes many years, certain measures (listed in section 9.2.3) designed to address these specific areas of intervention can help cities operate consistently in the short term in situations where cultural diversity or difference is an issue. In the long run, however, these recommendations will need to form part of a larger framework if planning in general is to become more culturally and socially inclusive.

9.2 CONTRIBUTING TOWARDS A MORE INCLUSIVE PLANNING PROCESS

This case study makes two main contributions towards the on-going elaboration of a more inclusive framework for planning and municipal management. First of all, our study findings suggest that the philosophical model on which planning's notions of social, political, and spatial life are based should be re-conceptualized. And second, the concerns and new directions for planning brought up over the course of this study highlight a variety of ways in which planning can be made more inclusive.

9.2.1 Re-Conceptualizing the City

Moving towards a more hybrid or culturally complex conceptual model of the city will help elasticize the current framework, opening it up to the smaller modalities within which alternative procedures are already operating. This type of model is based on the idea that culturally diverse urban societies are characterized by hybridity and cultural complexity (AlSayyad, 2001; Hannerz, 1996; Parekh, 2000; Amin, 2002). It moves away from the bounded ethnic group towards the inter-linked social web of a multiethnic context. This type of notion is invaluable for planning, since it can help planning practice address the fact that multiethnic contexts are not static – they exist in a state of flux, and the cultures and culturally-based concerns of individuals living within these contexts evolve over time through mutual interaction.

Using such a conceptual model can help planning deal with the collision between newer and more established groups, because the work done on the points of contact and the realignments that occur will change the existing framework from within, as new practices and mentalities become the norm rather than the exception. This model helps planning address cultural complexity better because it moves away from the idea of the separation of uses towards the idea of uses that are layered, coexisting, and constantly evolving. If solutions can be layered over one another temporarily, the need to question what the common public interest might be is no longer essential. But where permanency is an issue (in building construction, for example), then the idea of the point of contact is useful because this is a situation where collaborative procedures may help devise an appropriate solution that is satisfying to all (or at least most) parties involved.

A model of urban cultural complexity allows policy-makers to devise policies that target responsiveness and the ability to deal with complexity and rapid change. While currently the idea of developing policies for 'managing cultural difference' is a hot topic, like all trends it may dwindle over time. Many municipal administrations across Canada are highly resistant to the idea of bending over backward to accommodate the demands of different ethnocultural groups (Germain *et al*, 2003; Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002). This stems largely from the perceived impossibility of catering to the multiple demands of different ethnocultural groups, especially if these might end up conflicting with or compromising the values of the host society (Steinmann and Scherer, 2002). Shifting the focus away from conflicting ethno-specific realities towards the idea of transcultural value sets will fit in better with the management models of effective service delivery that predominate nowadays, and might lead to programs and procedures that are better able to weather changes in political regimes and priorities.

There is no indication whether or not international immigration flows to many cities will continue at the same pace over the next few generations. Therefore, a more responsive, inclusive, and flexible planning framework needs to be just that, regardless of social values or demographic composition. Moving away from liberal value pluralist and multiculturalism models of competing ethnic group interests towards a model of flux and adaptability to change will help create a planning framework that might better accommodate shifts in public space use and values, even in a culturally homogeneous society.

9.2.2 The Planning Tree: a New Framework for Planning

The best way of conceptualizing a more hybrid or culturally complex conceptual model is by viewing such a planning framework as being what the author calls a "Planning Tree" (refer to Figure 6). This Planning Tree is an organic structure with roots anchored in the notion of hybridity and cultural complexity, and has a trunk composed of historical and existing planning structures and conceptions. However, the branches of the Planning Tree represent the various informal and formal planning traditions that have been grafted onto the existing framework and that are currently used in local settings.

The branches that are grafted onto the Planning Tree encourage:

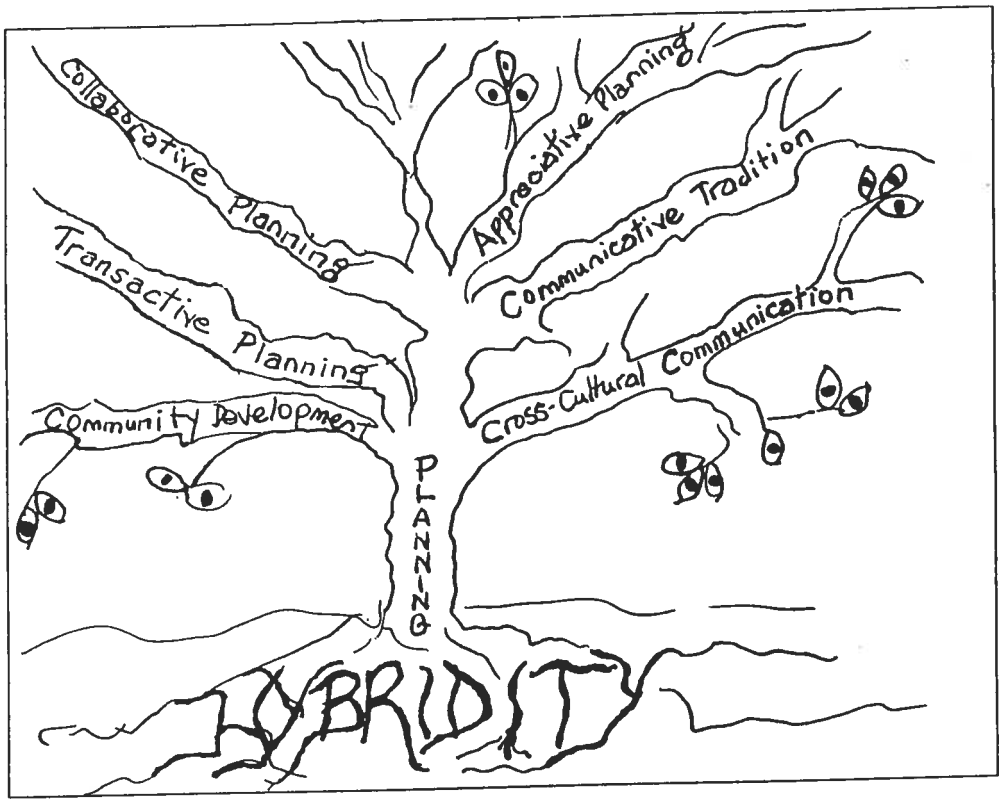
1. Open and accountable public participation processes.
2. Decentralization of certain planning functions and increased associationalism.
3. Revised guidelines for decision-makers based on the idea of transcultural value sets.
4. By-law and zoning revisions that move away from the idea of separation of uses towards the idea of compatibility of concurrent uses.
5. New design tools and philosophies based on layering rather than modular units.
6. Mediation and consensus-building opportunities where local actors and public authorities, as well as development and private sector interests, determine outcomes together.

On the branches of the Planning Tree are a full set of leaves, each leaf representing a modality or interstitial space in which different cultures or interests intersect with one other. These are points in time and space where consensus-building and conflict resolution between different ways of doing and seeing occur, and where negotiated outcomes are created. They are also spaces where the practical needs of planners and citizens locked into planning situations in contexts of diversity can be addressed and provided for.

These points of contact act as eyes through which the world can be seen. This information is relayed back to the main branches and trunk of the planning system in the same way that leaves transmit environmental information to the main nervous system nodes of a tree, helping it respond to current climatic conditions and telling it in which direction to grow. The Planning Tree can then easily grow and change without harming or undermining the trunk and roots that support it. The occasions where planning must address cultural complexity or diversity are provided for, and are sites where the vital chemical reactions needed to sustain the Planning Tree's life and viability (and therefore that of the society in whose name it acts) take place.

Figure 6. The Planning Tree.

source: the author



9.2.3 What This Means for Cities: Practical Recommendations

Multiethnic cities such as Montreal are ideal for testing out our new planning and management philosophy and framework. Montreal, like several other Canadian cities, has what might be called an official cultural diversity strategy (interculturalism and reasonable accommodation). The extent to which this strategy has filtered down to departmental functioning and the degree to which this type of strategy may be counterintuitive to culturally complex situations is beside the point. The mere fact that it exists means that the stage has already been set for further discussion on these issues at the municipal level. The same might be said for other Canadian and world cities that also enjoy some kind of cultural diversity management policy or strategy. Cities that receive large numbers of immigrants per year will also benefit, since these measures can help both citizens and public authorities construct their city and its spaces together.

Our research findings also suggest a variety of different avenues that municipal planners and managers can follow in order to render their planning work in multiethnic contexts more inclusive and effective. These practical solutions fall into three main categories: park and leisure space provision and design, the decision-making process, and service delivery operations and procedures.

a) Park and leisure space provision and design

Park and leisure space use in multiethnic contexts has certain characteristics and concerns which should be specifically addressed through planning and design efforts. These can include such things as:

1. Using design principles of layering.

   Design should focus on the way that activity and use patterns can be layered on top of one another in a single space. Horizontal design conceptions in which the surface area of a park is separated into different modules mean that designers only have the surface area of the park to work with, which is a problem in dense urban areas where multiple uses are demanded of a limited number of spaces. On the other hand, adopting a vertical design approach means designing a single space for a maximum number of uses separated in time, not space. For

example, an open area that is used for barbecues, picnics, parties, religious gatherings, and activities such as softball, cricket, soccer, lacrosse, relaxation, and dog-walking can be designed to accommodate all these things using temporary or mutable infrastructure that can be moved or altered to suit the use taking place. Another example involves enclosed seating areas that can be used by women from specific cultures as well as by individuals wishing to have a private gathering area in a park. Concerns over visibility can be allayed by ensuring that these micro-areas remain off-track but visible at the same time. In this case, a group of benches that are located in a dip off a main walkway minimizes casual encounters with other park users, while low hedges or planting ensures that anyone sitting there is still visible and can also see what is going on around them.

2. Using the 'park within a park' concept.
   This is another solution for neighbourhood parks where a certain number of users have ethno-specific needs or preferences that are very important to them, but that differ substantially from what the majority of users might need or prefer.

3. Accepting that parks in multiethnic areas have specific and different functions and roles.
   In a multiethnic area, public spaces are mainly gathering areas and are used in ways that may be very different from those in host society areas (preachers, large community picnics, etc.). Therefore, they should be designed to accommodate and withstand use by larger groups of people.

4. Ensuring a greater variety of smaller parks and public spaces in a multiethnic area.
   It makes more sense to focus on providing a range of public spaces, from public squares and vest-parks to leisure gardens, instead of focusing on the provision of larger parks spread farther apart. Increasing variety removes pressure from a single large park, and allows individuals with different public space preferences to choose their preferred leisure space.

5. Choosing temporary and moveable infrastructure and equipment.
   This means adopting the idea that use patterns and preferences are more mutable in a multiethnic area due to shifting population flows (constant influx of new immigrants, changing immigration waves and trends). Instead of installing permanent and very expensive park infrastructure and equipment, cities should concentrate on infrastructure and equipment

that a) can be moved around from park to park, b) can be easily replaced with other types of equipment if use and activity patterns change, c) can withstand a large number of users, or d) can easily be replaced or repaired if need be.

6. Transforming uni-functional spaces into multi-functional spaces.
   This means transforming the vocation of non-leisure spaces into spaces that can serve more than one function, a must in high-density neighbourhoods. For example, this can mean re-designing a local street to decrease (but still permit) through-traffic by widening sidewalks at certain points or by creating "islands", which also means that the street can double as a leisure or gathering area for local residents. It might also mean closing off a back alley to all except emergency vehicles and creating a green space or courtyard space for residents.

7. Providing a greater variety of micro-recreational spaces as opposed to fewer but larger recreational facilities or complexes.
   This means paying more attention to the provision of a greater variety of smaller recreational spaces, instead of concentrating on provision of several large recreational facilities spread far apart. Smaller recreational spaces can include local computer rooms, youth centres, mini-libraries, mini-gyms, etc. Purchasing or leasing smaller spaces for these types of recreational activities is easier to do in a densely occupied area than trying to find one large space or tract of land to accommodate all these activities under one roof.

8. Deciding who "owns" parks in a multiethnic neighbourhood.
   If the City "owns" all the parks, then the attitude of users and park managers towards different design and management options is different than if local users and nearby residents "own" the park. In the latter case, this means finding out what the vast majority of users (from residents to local businesses and institutions) like, dislike, and prefer in that particular park, and reacting accordingly.

9. Increasing maintenance and supervision in parks in multiethnic areas.
   Local parks and public spaces in multiethnic areas are characterized by a large volume of users from different cultures and different periods of immigration. Dealing with this fact means increasing the number of "service calls" made by roving crews, or preferably, re-instituting the park superintendent. In lieu of this permanent supervisory position, creating

neighbourhood supervisory groups that are paid and trained by the City is another option (this could also provide income and employment experience for residents, especially newer immigrants).

b) The decision-making process

In multiethnic neighbourhoods, transcultural value sets are easily discernible (refer to section 8.4.2). This means that municipal managers and planners can:

10. Focus on the use, not on the user.

    This involves determining the collectively-shared or transcultural value sets of different zones within a given urban territory, and using these value sets as the standard against which requests and uses are judged, instead of comparing requests and uses in a multiethnic neighbourhood to collectively-shared values in host society neighbourhoods. This will help eliminate the feeling of being swamped by very different demands and uses, which can go a long way towards stemming the 'arbitrariness' of decision-making. In this line of thinking, a place of worship or prayer group is the same use, no matter what the ethnicity or religion of the group in question. Deciding how and where a place of worship of any size and form can be incorporated into the urban fabric will mean that decisions regarding different places of worship are based on the use, not the user. Therefore, questions surrounding the equitable treatment of different ethnocultural groups are potentially resolved.

11. Accept that certain 'different' uses make sense in a multiethnic area.

    Using transcultural value sets also means accepting that certain uses or requests that may be considered inappropriate in a host society neighbourhood are perhaps entirely acceptable to residents and other actors in a multiethnic neighbourhood. This can include places of worship, ethnic cultural centres, cottage industries, etc.

12. Modify or eliminate zoning regulations and use permissions.

    The idea of a strict separation of uses is not the solution in a multiethnic area, since irregular uses will occur with or without planning permission. Ways should be found to guide and control very different uses so as to allow them to occur in close contact with other uses without creating nuisance for residents and other interests. The best solution is perhaps to

completely eliminate the idea of zoning, replacing it with a case-by-case analysis of use suitability and compatibility, in which mechanisms guarding against clientelism are put into place.

13. Accept that different religious and family values might predominate in multiethnic immigrant contexts.

    The rejection of religion and certain family values that is often believed to characterize Québécois society is not necessarily true for immigrant or ethnocultural groups in a multiethnic area. Resistance to values that stress the importance of places of worship or certain gender roles on the part of municipal managers can create controversy where none exists. The issue is especially controversial in more culturally homogeneous areas where the practices of a newer immigrant group might conflict with those of a host society group that holds more secular values. In practice, this means that the value set used by municipal managers in both areas will have to be readjusted to one that includes these different religious or family values. Therefore, it is not a question of deciding whether or not to create separate activity spaces for men and women, but simply a matter of deciding how to schedule and locate activities that allow for mixed and separate (male/female) use. This might also help eliminate many of the problems facing municipal decision-makers in culturally diverse contexts (equity, selective deafness, demand overload, arbitration between very different values).

14. Create a set of decision-making guidelines.

    Preparing a set of guidelines for decision-making in multiethnic contexts will help eliminate the feeling among municipal actors of "going blind", of having no support for their decisions and receiving little guidance in terms of mediating between culturally different requests and interests.

15. Create a jurisprudence of cases.

    Guidelines for decision-making in multiethnic contexts should be based on an existing jurisprudence of cases, analyzed for satisfaction and outcome, and available to actors in other neighbourhoods and municipal departments.

16. Exploit the knowledge existing in the field when creating guidelines, procedures, and tools.
    Field officers, local institutional actors, community group workers, and residents' groups can offer a wide range of solutions for municipal decision-makers, from ways of mediating between different groups to ideas on what may be a priority, a preference, or an incompatible use in their neighbourhood.

17. Make use of the knowledge and experience of other cities worldwide in dealing with planning and management dilemmas in multiethnic contexts.
    This can range from published reports and articles, to 'information-sharing' partnerships developed with professionals and groups involved in planning and community development activities in other countries and cities.

c) Service delivery operations and procedures

Service delivery can be one of the most difficult aspects of municipal management in multiethnic contexts. Service delivery can be made more efficient and appropriate by doing the following:

18. Decentralizing services, budget creation, and decision-making power to even smaller municipal units.
    The smaller the unit, the more suitable the decisions in a multiethnic context, as long as overall guidelines for the district in question are respected.

19. Increasing funding to multiethnic areas.
    Regional municipal offices in multiethnic areas need to be given more resources (such as increased funding and personnel) in order to provide the same quality of service as in other neighbourhoods across the city. If multiethnic areas require a greater frequency of garbage collection in order for their streets to look clean, then local managers need to be able to up the frequency of garbage collection as they see fit.

20. Making decisions that are also based on host society preferences.
    Not all decisions in multiethnic contexts need to be made with ethnoculturally-specific preferences in mind. Instead, many can be based on what the host society might want or

prefer. This may appear to contradict the recommendations made above, but in fact it does not. Individuals belonging to different ethnocultural groups can have public space preferences that differ from those of individuals in the host society, but they can also have similar preferences. For example, while immigrants from certain countries may want to have a cricket field in their neighbourhood, they may also like to have a hockey rink. Therefore, requests for a hockey rink in an immigrant area should be given as much consideration as they would in a host society neighbourhood. However, the requirement for community management of a hockey rink that accompanies acceptance of this request in a host society area will not make sense in an area where many residents are new immigrants. They may either be unfamiliar with the way a hockey rink should be maintained, or else might have odd work schedules that hinder regular rink maintenance. Therefore, the request makes sense, but the rink will most likely need to be maintained (or at least overseen) by municipal employees. Again, the resources and decision-making power granted to decentralized municipal units and local groups will make the difference here.

21. Making outreach a part of basic service delivery.

    It makes no sense to base operations on the idea that certain uses and practices among local immigrant populations (from residents to business owners) can be overlooked because they are problems of integration and will self-regulate as the person becomes more settled. Multiethnic areas are often immigrant reception areas, where the influx of new immigrants is a demographic constant. It does not matter if new immigrants will eventually integrate or not, because there will always be more of them arriving. Therefore, municipal managers in these areas must also make planning and management decisions geared towards new immigrants. This can involve such things as finding ways to do outreach on household waste management on a constant or rotating basis (sub-contracting, for example). It can also mean finding ways to provide information and services that eliminate the barriers between institutional cultures and local people. Residents belonging to minority and immigrant groups can have negative perceptions of authorities and public workers, ranging from perceptions of racism to an innate fear and suspicion of all that is "government". It may make more sense to bring municipal services towards residents rather than expecting residents to go towards municipal services. While residents in a host society area might telephone the local Public Works office and complain if they have a problem, it makes no sense to expect the same thing in a multiethnic or immigrant reception context. Bringing municipal services to the people can

take many forms. One example might be roving vans that stop on a street for a day and act as mini information and 'complaint-receiving' booths, for example.

22. Changing the way that public consultation and participation proceedings are carried out.
    In a multiethnic neighbourhood, participation by individual residents occurs at the micro-level, not necessarily at the formal level of public consultation forums (in our study, these are forums that are usually attended by representatives of local community organizations). Creating informal instances based on the support circle model or the idea of the micro-public that still have the same political weight as larger participatory forums is probably a more effective way of ensuring public participation in a multiethnic context.

23. Developing a network of activatible collaborative instances.
    This means developing collaborative instances at all levels (street, neighbourhood, planning sector) that can be activated when decisions are needed on planning issues that affect local stakeholders (such as development permission, park redesign, or use permissions). These collaborative instances can be based out of the offices of local groups, or else headed by a trained mediator who meets with 'members' in a series of different locations. The key here is that these instances are recognized as being permanent (despite the probable fluidity of 'members') and have political weight. Members of these collaborative instances do not need to hold regular meetings, nor occupy a specific office. In addition, these instances are dormant until an issue appears that requires collaborative action. The objective of these instances is simply to arrive at a planning decision or solution between a range of actors – from municipal authorities to local businesspeople and residents. Therefore, they will need to develop their own modes of functioning that work within local dynamics and with local leaders.

9.2.4 Transferability and Limits of the Study

The conclusions and recommendations for a more inclusive planning and municipal management practice that have emerged from our analysis derive from a single case study. Identification of the specific and more universal characteristics of this study is therefore necessary in order to determine the transferability of our conclusions and recommendations to other situations and to planning theory in general.

Neighbourhood contexts

Our conclusions and recommendations are geared towards public space planning and management in multiethnic immigrant reception and settlement neighbourhoods. Although we did not conduct a comparative case analysis, it seems likely that our conclusions and recommendations are transferable to immigrant reception and settlement neighbourhoods in other Canadian cities. The transferability of our recommendations on public space planning depends on the assumption that the public space dilemmas and concerns of other multiethnic neighbourhoods resemble those found in our case study neighbourhood. Di Genova's (2001) comparative study of park uses and concerns across Montreal neighbourhoods concludes that public space conceptions and uses are fairly similar in different multiethnic areas, although they are dissimilar in many respects to those found in more "French Canadian" or host society neighbourhoods. If this is true, then our recommendations are indeed transferable to other multiethnic immigrant reception and settlement neighbourhoods in Montreal, and perhaps in other Canadian cities as well.

The issue is more complex when it comes to more middle class and more culturally homogeneous contexts. First of all, our study examined planning efforts geared towards environmental and public space improvement. Would we have reached different conclusions if the planning issues under study were different? This is an important question, because in contexts (especially more middle class ones) where people are generally satisfied with the quality of their public spaces and municipal services, or where they might be more demanding and have a better idea of how to 'work the system', it is certainly possible that we might have arrived at different conclusions. On the other hand, studies looking at multicultural planning

dilemmas in more middle class areas across Canada suggest that many of our conclusions and recommendations may be transferable, regardless of the planning issues at stake. For example, an influx of South Asian immigrants to Surrey in British Columbia has had a significant impact on public space concerns and planning response (Ameyaw, 2000). The same is also true for more well-to-do municipalities in the Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal areas where culturally-specific commercial and real estate practices, leisure activities, and places of worship are putting existing public space values and planning practices into question (Edgington and Hutton, 2002; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002; Germain and Gagnon, 2003). In addition, just because a municipality or district is wealthier or more ethnoculturally homogeneous does not mean that lower income or more 'multiethnic' pockets do not exist within its borders. While the planning issues in these contexts may be different from those that we examined in our case study, the dilemma of inclusion of cultural diversity in local planning efforts still exists. In fact, our recommendations on transcultural value sets, political will, collaborative process, micro-publics or fault-lines, and public space re-conceptualization, among others, may be even more pertinent in these contexts, since these can be contexts where established groups and municipal actors might believe strongly in the need to maintain and encode certain social and heritage values in public space.

Second, studies on the sensitivity of planners and municipal managers to cultural difference in Canada and in the United Kingdom (Frisken and Wallace, 2000; Germain *et al*, 2003; Thomas, 2000) have shown that their attitudes are often quite similar, despite the type of municipality in question and the type of planning situation under consideration (use of public space, zoning controversy, gentrification, contested development, etc.). Therefore, many of the cultural diversity planning issues found in our case study neighbourhood may very well exist in a variety of neighbourhoods and urban contexts. Some of our recommendations (but not all) are therefore transferable to such contexts. For example, municipalities with a fairly well-off population and large number of public spaces may not need recommendations geared towards increasing the availability of diverse recreational and leisure spaces, although recommendations targeted at layering in public space and determining how particularist concerns can be accommodated and incorporated within a larger collectively-defined common culture are certainly transferable.

Contexts of change and flux

Perhaps most importantly of all, our case study has allowed us to examine and conceptualize planning practices under conditions of change or flux. Part of the reason why multicultural planning 'theories' have not necessarily been translated into practice is that scholars do not seem to have identified how practitioners can operate consistently within unstable culturally diverse contexts. Our case study analysis corroborates the work of scholars in the hybrid or culturally complex cities field, since our conclusions also support the idea that multiethnic urban contexts are characterized by flux. Immigrant waves change, trends appear and disappear, and socio-political programs wax and wane. In fact, cultural diversity management programs are often the first to be dropped by municipalities when political regimes change, and with them the willingness or ability of planners and managers to work inclusively (Krishnarayan and Thomas, 1993; Moore Milroy and Wallace, 2002). In addition, many actors in our study, as well as in other Canadian cities (Frisken and Wallace, 2000), are unwilling to accommodate the culturally-specific requests of newer immigrant groups since they believe that their needs and concerns will change over time. For these reasons, it bears mention that our case study examines a planning process taking place within a fluctuating context. In Mountain Sights, new immigrants are always arriving, immigrant waves have changed dramatically over the past fifteen years and are in the process of changing once more, and local planning groups have formed and dissolved, as have municipal/provincial programs and funding. Our conclusions and recommendations, including our model of the Planning Tree, all propose ways of operating consistently within a constantly fluctuating context and of maintaining a common moral core within a multiple publics perspective.

This is significant in three respects. First of all, it suggests that our conclusions might be transferable to a host of other multiethnic urban situations that are also characterized and affected profoundly by change and flux (schools, public health facilities, courts of law, to name a few). This might help planning and socio-political theory address the particularities of culturally diverse societies directly, from dealing with people's reactions to change to developing sound practices and programs that can accommodate social change.

It also means that our conclusions can help redefine notions of the public interest in theory and in practice. Although 'urban' scholars such as Sandercock (2003b), Thomas (2000), Amin (2002), Allen and Cars (2001), and AlSayyad (2004) have begun to argue that inclusive planning requires a multiple publics perspective, they have not yet demonstrated how practitioners and politicians can go about defining what the public interest may be within a multiple publics perspective, nor how to make decisions within such a perspective. Our conclusions and recommendations may be highly transferable to the theorization of multiple publics for this reason, since they address such things as ways of conceptualizing and determining the public interest within a multiple publics perspective, ways of rethinking planning procedures under these conditions, and the skill sets that planners and managers might need.

More particularly, our recommendations and conclusions are also transferable to a new conceptual field in planning thought, one that is in its infancy – the field of planning for uncertainty and social change. Fundamentally, our conclusions question the validity of many commonly accepted notions in planning, such as the ability to forecast and to act in the best interest of future residents. They are therefore highly applicable to theoretical dilemmas of temporality in planning.

The limits of transferability

To some extent, the transferability of our conclusions to a wider range of situations and concepts might be limited by the specificity of our research. First, the limitations imposed by our fieldwork and respondent sample might condition the transferability of our conclusions. Would we have come to different conclusions if other respondent groups had been included in this study (local businesspeople as well as a greater representation of non-involved residents and new immigrants)? At first glance it seems as though the overall conclusions would not change, simply because the local planning process in Mountain Sights has been created mainly by established immigrants and community group workers. However, if all these different people participated or had the opportunity to fully participate, as they would under the agonistic-type decision-making procedures that this study recommends, the organizing principle might not be the same. In other words, these different perspectives might change the overall collective or transcultural value set of this neighbourhood, and therefore the type of actions that take place, but will not necessarily invalidate the concept or fundamentally alter the process itself.

Second, this is a single case study. What kind of conclusions would we have obtained if we had pursued a comparative study of similar or dissimilar neighbourhoods? What if higher income neighbourhoods were included in such a comparative analysis? And what if we looked comparatively across different types of planning and development projects? Most likely, the same general processes would also be found, because the notions of a common but hybrid culture and a more flexible planning process might always apply. The only exception might be culturally homogeneous areas or cases, where a proceduralist, civic assimilationist, or even a millet model of cultural diversity accommodation might be more appropriate. We do not have sufficient information to determine if our findings are transferable to all these types of contexts within a multiethnic society.

Third, our case study site is a multiethnic residential area that has clearly delimited and intelligible spatial boundaries. This is a plus since it may help residents to identify with the neighbourhood and might encourage their involvement in local planning efforts (which is not always the case). On the other hand, the diversity of built forms that exist in an entire city is missing. Although a given metropolitan society may be statistically multiethnic, the geo-spatial and municipal administrative units that comprise this society are also diverse – some neighbourhoods, streets, and institutions within each of these larger spatial units may be more ethnoculturally homogeneous or heterogeneous than others. Without investigating and comparing these diverse situations and spatial units, it is impossible to say that our conclusions are transferable to all these contexts. They may very well be, but further research is definitely required.

Fourth, our conclusions suggest that planning can operate inclusively at both the micro or larger neighbourhood level by working to accommodate the particular within locally-determined transcultural value sets. If a culturally diverse city is indeed a patchwork quilt of different spatially located value sets, how can theoreticians and practitioners go about determining an overall legal and moral framework for organizing this type of heterogeneous city? Our conclusions suggest that such a framework must exist, particularly if the modules it "oversees" are fluctuating ones, although we have not identified its actual form and shape. This is not a question that this study can answer, although it is one that it raises. None of the scholars who are working on the issue of a common political community in culturally diverse contexts (such as

Parekh, 2000) even ask this particular question, although they agree that such an overall structure needs to exist.

Given the limitations to transferability that arise due to the specificities of our case study, our conclusions and recommendations can therefore only be transferred to broader political dilemmas of cultural diversity after further study. Scholars in the multicultural planning tradition such as Sandercock (2003a) and Thomas (2000) have faced this limitation in their research as well. These authors often base their conclusions on the analysis of small-size cases, which are used to illustrate the need to transfer similar principles to higher political levels. The existing substantive ordering procedures for accommodating cultural diversity (proceduralism, civic assimilationism, millet models) sometimes operate concurrently at various political levels and in various programs within the same national context. For example, in Canada and the United States, proceduralism is translated into multiculturalism programs, civic assimilationism is at work in Quebec's interculturalist approach, and millet models are used to exempt groups such as the Mennonites and the Amish from certain fundamental laws and regulations/obligations that pertain to the wider society. Empirically then, transference of our conclusions to higher political levels requires that we be able to draw on a wider range of cases in order to demonstrate that our conceptualization of a politics of cultural inclusion is currently operating informally in conjunction with these other formal procedures (and might therefore be formally operational). At the very least, our conclusions can serve as hypotheses that require validation. A significant amount of scientific theory has roots in small case analysis. For example, Darwin's theory of evolution draws in part on his early study of Galapagos finches, even though it subsequently took him forty years of study and analysis to arrive at an overall theory of evolution, which even today is being verified and contested. In our case, a single case study has led to the elaboration of several conclusions and principles that may very well pertain to a wider range of socio-political situations. The fact that this will require further study does not negate the possible transferability of these conclusions to other contexts and other levels of thought or action.

APPENDIX 1 : SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Schedule 1 was used for residents, and Schedule 2 was used for community group workers and public authorities.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1: Residents

1. Personal Information

Age, sex, marital status, number of children, occupation of respondent (and spouse, if applicable), level of education, annual income (or household income), country of origin, ethnic and religious group affiliations, date of immigration to Canada (if applicable).

2. Perception of Public Space

Discussion on what "neighbourhood", "public space", "environment" means, etc.

What do you think about the quality and condition of public spaces in the area? How does this compare to public spaces in the rest of Côte des Neiges? Other parts of Montreal?

What do you like and dislike about public spaces in the neighbourhood?

What do you use these public spaces for? Do you feel that you can use them the way you want to? What would you like to be able to do and see in these public spaces? Have you always felt this way?

Do you think that people of different ethnic groups here use and want to use public spaces in different ways? How about men and women? Different ages? How about new and older immigrant groups?

Do you feel comfortable in these public spaces? Safe? Why/why not? Have these feelings changed over time?

Are spaces here different from what you are used to in other Montreal neighbourhoods or in other countries? Would you use public spaces in a different way if you were in your home country? Would you feel the same way about them?

Do you think that what people need and want to do in public spaces around here is what they are used to in their home countries, or different?

How do you feel about the way other people use public spaces here? Are you ever bothered by things that others do in public space? Is this different from what you are used to?

There are so many people here from so many different places who are all accustomed to using public spaces in very different ways. Does this ever cause conflicts in public spaces? How do these conflicts get resolved?

Do you think that people of different ethnic groups want to see and do certain things in public spaces around here that other residents and local authorities should be permitting or accepting?

In general, do you think that everyone around here basically needs and wants the same things in public spaces despite their cultural differences, or not?

How do you think that residents in other neighbourhoods and public authorities perceive public spaces here?

What would you like to see changed around here?

3. The Local Planning and Improvement Process

Have you ever been involved in (or heard of) situations where residents got together to try and improve the quality or condition of public spaces? How about community groups?

What happened? Who started the process? Who participated? Did the City of Montreal get involved? How did they react to what you were trying to do?

What was the outcome? Are you satisfied? Can you say the same for the other people that were involved?

Did things work out the way you thought or expected they would?

With so many different ethnic groups living in the area, how hard was it to get people organized together and involved?

Did you feel that men and women of different ethnic origins had different concerns and ways of doing things? How did people deal with differences (cultural or other) that came up? How about City authorities?

Would you have been doing things the same way if you were living in your home country? How would people, community group workers, or public authorities be dealing with public spaces in your home country (or other countries you have lived in)? Would it be better if people did things that way here?

4. Municipal Planning and Management Approaches in Multiethnic Contexts

Do you think that people who live and work in this area have a different idea or understanding of how public spaces around here should be used / improved than do public authorities (City of Montreal departments, police, etc.)?

Do you think that public authorities take everyone's opinion into account when deciding how public spaces could be changed or improved? Are they receptive and sensitive to what people of different ethnic groups here want to do or see in public spaces?

Do you think that the residents' association here takes the needs of everyone in this multiethnic neighbourhood into account?

Do you think that when a program or development is proposed for the public environment in the neighbourhood the solution should be created by everyone concerned or else left up to public authorities? In what situations? What happens if what people of different ethnic groups want is very different from what other groups or the City wants?

Do you think that the way residents and community groups do things around here is very different from the way the City or other public authorities do things?

Do you think that City authorities (or others) should be working with the same standards they always have for public spaces in multiethnic neighbourhoods? Should these standards change? Be made more flexible (tolerant), more strict (greater enforcement), or something in-between? Or does it depend on the situation?

Is it advisable or possible to plan for multiple publics all the time? How do you think this could work in Côte des Neiges or other multiethnic areas?

Would these ways of doing things work in other Montreal neighbourhoods (multiethnic or more homogeneous, lower income vs. higher income)? Where? Under what circumstances?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2: Community Group Workers and Public Authorities

1. Personal Information

Occupation and position, responsibilities and duties, length of time with organization, previous positions, ethnic origins, sex, age, official language abilities, location of office or organization.

2. Perception of Public Space

Discussion on what "neighbourhood", "public space", "environment" means, etc.

What type of actions, programs, and concerns regarding public space or the lived environment is your department/organization involved with in Côte des Neiges and in the Mountain Sights area? How does your department/organization approach public space or environmental management?

What are your department's or organization's responsibilities and policies regarding a multiethnic clientele?

What do you think of the quality and condition of public spaces or the lived environment in Côte des Neiges as a whole? In the Mountain Sights area? Safety and security in public spaces? Amount of public spaces or type of spaces?

How do these compare with public spaces in other neighbourhoods (multiethnic or more Francophone/Anglophone)?

What do you think residents want to see in public spaces in the Mountain Sights area? In other areas of Côte des Neiges?

Do you think that different ethnocultural groups use and perceive these spaces differently?
Newer versus more established immigrant groups?
Men and women of these groups?
How about different age groups?

Do you think that what people of different ethnocultural groups need and want to do in public spaces in Mountain Sights is what they are used to in their home countries, or is it different?

Are you aware of any conflicts arising in public spaces over culturally-based uses that would necessitate the intervention of your department or organization? There are so many people here from so many different places who are accustomed to using public spaces in very different ways. How can these conflicts get resolved?

Does this apply to all public spaces in Côte des Neiges, or does it differ between areas and public spaces? How about parks or areas that are dedicated to one particular ethnic group?

Do you think that everyone in the area basically needs and wants the same things in public space despite their cultural differences, or not? Do residents of a multiethnic area need and want things in public space that are different from what residents in a more homogeneous neighbourhood might need and want?

3. The Local Planning and Improvement Process

Are you in contact with local organizations in Côte des Neiges or with other municipal departments regarding possible improvements or changes to public spaces and the lived environment? How about residents' associations? In the Mountain Sights area?

If yes, what happened? Who participated? How did your department get involved? Reaction?
What was the outcome? Are you satisfied? Can you say the same for the other people who were involved?
Did things work out the way you thought or expected they would?
With so many different ethnic groups living in the area, how hard was is to get decisions made and implemented? How did you deal with any differences (cultural or other) that came up?

Are there alternative ways of managing public spaces in Côte des Neiges (or in other areas of Montreal or in other cities and countries) that might also work here?

When you look back on these situations, do you think it is easy for residents, different interest groups, and municipal authorities to find shared solutions to problems in multiethnic areas?

4. Municipal Planning and Management Approaches in Multiethnic Contexts

Do you think that local residents, community group workers, and public authorities have different visions of what public space problems and needs are in multiethnic areas? How does your approach differ?

Do you operate and devise your programs under a principle of universality, or do you try to accommodate different demands from different ethnocultural groups? Do you think that people of different ethnocultural groups want to see and do certain things in public spaces that most residents and local authorities should be permitting or accepting? How accommodating is your department to unusual requests?

How do you deal with diverse needs of other groups (women, the elderly, the disabled, etc.)? Is this different from how you deal with different ethnic groups?

What would you like to see changed in the way public authorities design and implement programs that affect public spaces in the area? Other types of changes?

Do you think that when a program or development is proposed for the public environment in a neighbourhood such as Mountain Sights that the solution should be created by everyone concerned or else left up to public authorities? Under what circumstances? What happens if people of different ethnic groups want to see things happen in public space that are very different from what municipal authorities want?

The Mountain Sights Residents' Association (among other residents' groups) is made up of local residents and run with the help of local community group workers. Do you think that these residents' groups take the needs of everyone in this multiethnic area into account?

Do you think that public authorities (or others) should be working with the same standards they always have for public spaces in multiethnic neighbourhoods? Should these standards change? Be made more flexible (tolerant), more strict (greater enforcement), or something in-between? Or does it depend on the situation?

Is it advisable or possible to plan for multiple publics all the time? How do you think this could work in Côte des Neiges or other multiethnic areas?

Would these ways of doing things work in other Montreal neighbourhoods (multiethnic and more homogeneous, lower income vs. higher income)? Where? Under what circumstances?

APPENDIX 2 : RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED

No.	Sex	Age	Country of origin	Occupation	Marital status	Year of Immigration	Date arrived in Mountain Sights
1	F	39	Jamaica	nursing assistant	married	1979	1979
2	F	42	Trinidad	homemaker	common-law	1989	1989
3	F	36	Sri Lanka	homemaker	married	1991	1991
4	F	36	Philippines	home daycare	divorced	1988	1991
5	F	65	St. Vincent	retired	married	1970	1972
6	F	21	Canada (Indian descent)	telemarketer	divorced	born in Canada	1980
7	F	38	Barbados	homemaker	common-law	1974	1974
8	F	29	Haiti	customer service	common-law	1975	1975
9	M	31	Canada (Jamaican descent)	janitor	common-law	born in Canada	1987
10	M	61	Haiti	janitor	married	1973	1973
11	F	32	Canada (Black Canadian)	receptionist-secretary	single	born in Canada	1981
12	F	43	Pakistan	homemaker	married	1985	1985
13	F	36	Pakistan	homemaker	married	1988	1993
14	F	35	Dominican Republic	factory floor supervisor	divorced	1985	1985
15	M	43	Sri Lanka	cabinet-maker	married	1986	1986
16	F	33	Sri Lanka	homemaker	married	1993	1993
17	F	38	Philippines	homemaker	married	1990	1994
18	F	31	Sri Lanka	homemaker	married	1992	1992
19	F	35	Haiti	homemaker	married	1985	1987
20	F	27	Bangladesh	sewing machine operator	married	1994	1994
21	F	40	Haiti	nursing assistant	divorced	1985	1985
22	F	34	India	homemaker	married	1981	1995
23	F	38	Mexico	janitor	married	1986	2000
24	F	35	Sri Lanka	homemaker	married	1986	1986
25	F	25	Bangladesh	homemaker	divorced	1998	2001
26	F	32	Bangladesh	hairdresser	married	1993	1993

APPENDIX 3 : COMMUNITY GROUP WORKERS AND PUBLIC AUTHORITIES INTERVIEWED

No.	Position	Organization type and domain
27	Community development worker	Local community organization, socio-economic
28	Field officer	City of Montreal, environment
29	Community development worker	Local community organization, socio-economic
30	Director	Regional office, City of Montreal, environment
31	Social worker	Local public institution, health
32	Director	Regional office, City of Montreal, environment
33	Field officer	City of Montreal, cultural affairs
34	Director	Local community organization, housing
35	Director	Regional office, City of Montreal, environment
36	Section head	City of Montreal, environment
37	Planner	City of Montreal, environment
38	Director	Public institution, housing
39	Assistant director	Regional office, City of Montreal, environment
40	Planner	City of Montreal, environment
41	Community development worker	Local community organization, socio-economic
42	Social worker	Local community organization, socio-economic
43	Field officer	Regional office, City of Montreal, environment
44	Director	Local community organization, housing
45	Community development worker	Local ethnocultural association, socio-economic
46	Field officer	Public institution, housing
47	Customer service officer	Regional office, City of Montreal, communications
48	Elected official	Local office, City of Montreal, politics
49	Officer	Local public institution, security
50	Officer	Local public institution, security
51	Planner	City of Montreal, environment
52	Director	Local community organization, housing

APPENDIX 4 : *THE GAZETTE STYLE* AND NOMENCLATURE

The following are excerpts from *The Gazette Style* (2000) regarding the English spelling of French place names for municipalities and streets located in the province of Quebec, as well as the correct way of spelling the names of French institutions. These excerpts are taken from pages 3 and 33 respectively.

Addresses. Abbreviate Ave., St., Rd., Cres., and Blvd., when used with the name of the street. Don't abbreviate Square, Drive, or Court. Abbreviate the geographical designation E., W., N., or S., in a street name. [...]

Don't use a comma in street addresses, no matter how many numbers there are: 100045 St. Laurent Blvd.

In the paper, we don't always use the "de" in the names of streets. Although dozens of official street names include "de", ordinary conversation drops it most of the time. For us, common conventional usage should be the deciding factor. It's "de Maisonneuve Blvd." but "Bleury St.", even though the street signs say "de Bleury". Similarly, use "la Gauchetière" rather than "de la Gauchetière", "Champlain" rather than "de Champlain", "l'Acadie Blvd." rather than "de l'Acadie" and "Sources Blvd.", not "des Sources". Among the cases where it *is* used: de Bullion, de la Commune, de l'Église, de Lorimier, du Musée, de la Savane. In most other familiar cases, the "de" is omitted.

[...]

For cities, towns, and electoral ridings, use English orthographical style (period and space after St., Ste.; no hyphens) for all place names – Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Trois Rivières, Mont Tremblant, St. Léonard, St. Lambert, Pointe Claire, Pointe aux Pic. Use the official road map issued by the Quebec government as a guide for spelling, accents, and St. vs. Ste.

[...]

For street names, use English orthographical style (period and space; no hyphen) – for example, St. Jacques St., not Saint-Jacques. Use the English designation for "St.", "Blvd.", etc. (not "Rue" or "Boul."), but do not translate Rue Principale.

You have to use judgment in deciding whether the English version of the street name is better known to readers. If it is, use it: e.g. Pine Ave., Park Ave., Mountain St., St. John's Blvd., Beaver Hall Hill, Mount Royal Ave. But use Cathédrale St., St. Laurent Blvd.

Don't use the diacritical marks on Montreal, Quebec or Rosemere (unless they're part of a French title); these are English names as well as French ones, and the English forms don't have accents.

The abbreviation for a female saint should be spelled "Ste." in the names of streets and towns in Quebec.

[...]

French. Diacritical marks - accents - are part of the spelling of some French names. We should be as meticulous in using them as we are in other aspects of spelling names. Use the accents on both lowercase and capital letters.

Follow French capitalization practice in the titles of organizations or companies that have French names. However, the short form of the French name, used alone in second reference, should keep the capitalization (the Chambre de commerce, the Chambre) – unlike our practice for English names. Sometimes we'll run into what seems to be a weird mixture of English article and French title; try to treat it as you normally would in speech: "the Conseil du patronat" (then) "the Conseil".

For groups or organizations that go by a French name, use the full French name on first reference (Commission scolaire du Montréal, Conseil du patronat) then an English equivalent or explanatory description (Montreal's French-language school board, Quebec's largest employer group) in a subsequent reference.

Do not translate the names of French educational institutions, but use English forms for hospital names and, with a few obvious exceptions, church names: the Université de Montréal, the Université de Québec à Montréal, École St. Nom de Jésus, Collège Marie de France, Ste. Justine Hospital, Hôtel Dieu Hospital, Notre Dame Basilica, St. Constant Church (not Église St. Constant), but Église du Gesù.

[...]

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